

HISTORICAL STUDIES

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CONTENTS

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	Page
The Origins of the Caucus in New Zealand	Leslie Lipson 1
Australian-American Relations During the Gold Rush	L. G. Churchward 11
The Composition of the Victorian Parliament, 1856-81	Joy E. Mills 25
Documents—II. The Manager's Letter-Book, Union Bank, Portland, 1846-54	G. F. James 40
Accessions of MSS.—City of Auckland Public Libraries, N.Z.	49
Public Library of South Australia	49
The Hocken Library, Dunedin, N.Z.	49
Writings on New Zealand History, 1938-41	G. H. Scholefield 50

REVIEWS

<i>Bibliography of Australia</i> . Vol. 1, 1784-1830, by John Alexander Ferguson (G. F. James)	54
<i>Government in New Zealand</i> , by Leicester Webb (W. T. G. Airey)	56
<i>The Maori People To-day</i> , ed. I. L. G. Sutherland (Ian Milner)	58
<i>The Story of John Fairfax</i> , by J. F. Fairfax; <i>The Great Wheel</i> , by C. Brunston Fletcher (C. H. Currey)	60
<i>Sailormen's Ghosts</i> , by Malcolm Uren (J. C. Beaglehole)	61
<i>Solving Labour Problems in Australia</i> , by O. de R. Foerner (A. E. C. Hare)	61
<i>Guide to the Casts of Greek and Roman Sculpture</i> , Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney (Jessie S. W. Webb)	62

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HISTORICAL STUDIES
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

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The scope of *Historical Studies* is outlined in the foreword to the first number, April 1940; in brief, it will include work on Australian and New Zealand history undertaken by historians in all parts of the world, together with researches in other fields undertaken by teachers and students within the two dominions.

Contributions for the April issue should reach the editor before 15 February, and for the October issue before 15 August.

Wherever possible, articles should not exceed 7-9,000 words, and should be submitted in typescript. Contributors are also requested to follow as closely as possible the conventions introduced in numbers 3 and 4 of the first volume in the matter of footnote references and the use of capitals.

The editor would appreciate comments and suggestions.

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HISTORICAL STUDIES

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Volume 2

APRIL, 1942

Number 5

THE ORIGINS OF THE CAUCUS IN NEW ZEALAND

AN observer of political institutions in a contemporary democracy would find it difficult to imagine a modern party operating effectively without a caucus. As we take for granted the existence of parties in our legislative systems, so we take for granted the co-existence of a caucus. With the career civil service, it stands out as a new phenomenon distinguishing the modern from the mid-Victorian state. In New Zealand the term 'caucus' is customarily used to describe a meeting of party representatives in the legislature. The dominion is now familiar with the practice of party members meeting together to decide on a concerted plan of action, and looks upon this institution as a characteristic feature of its twentieth century democracy. New Zealanders are even accustomed to caucuses which are conducted internally on lines somewhat akin to those of parliament itself. Notices of motion, regular meetings, majority decisions—these are becoming accepted as part and parcel of caucus procedure in the Labor party; in the National (or Conservative) party they are also observed, though to a lesser extent. If it be our concern to study political dynamics, democratic government in New Zealand owes relatively little nowadays to the constitutional formula of the King in Parliament. It reposes primarily on the three C's—cabinet, caucus, and civil service.

But we may recast our conception of the caucus as a peculiarly modern growth by inquiring into its antecedents. The roots of the caucus can be traced as far back in the politics of the dominion as the beginning of responsible government in 1856, and the life history of the caucus is integrally related to that of the party system itself. Early ministries in New Zealand were based upon unstable coalitions, temporarily cemented out of shifting blocs, a situation which foreshadowed, but did not yet embody, a regularized party struggle. Gradually, as political issues crystallized around the tenure of land, as the franchise was extended from a property to a residential qualification, as internal communications were improved, and as leaders

like Vogel, Grey, and Atkinson emerged, the party system began to assume its modern shape. The caucus was a growth which developed organically to meet the needs of the New Zealand parliament; the name, however, was imported from the United States and was not used until the institution had actually existed for two decades. At first it is simply known as a 'meeting.' In 1876 occurs the first reference to the term 'caucus' that I have found in Hansard. During the early 'eighties 'caucus' increasingly permeates the parliamentarian's vocabulary; by 1890 it has become an established usage. For purposes of comparison, moreover, it is significant that the term was not popularized in Britain until 1878. This suggests that the word was introduced to New Zealand directly from the United States, where it originated.

Party Meetings, 1856-72

When the General Assembly met in 1856, it was faced with the problem of setting up its first responsible ministry. New Zealand at that time enjoyed a federal system, donated to it by the Colonial Office and by Governor Grey in conscious imitation of the United States. The political arena was overshadowed by the difficulties of harmonizing the central government with the provinces. Inevitably it resulted from the federal structure that Centralists quarreled with Provincialists over the distribution of governmental powers and revenues. Henry Sewell, a lawyer from the South Island, offered himself to parliament as its initial premier. Within three weeks, however, he was defeated by a vote of 17 to 15. As an arch-Centralist, Sewell was anathema to the Provincialists and even to a strategically placed group of moderates whose combined opposition ejected him from office. During the interregnum that followed, various political leaders were requested by the governor to form a ministry; and, in a manner reminiscent of the *Troisième République*, they successively reported their inability to lead a majority.

Among these was Edward Stafford, a canny Irishman who refused to form a ministry at this early stage; but knowing how to wait, he watched the failure of all his rivals, and then established a ministry that lasted for five years (1856-61). In explaining to the house why he could not at first form a ministry,¹ he proceeded to analyze the party groups: 'I endeavoured,' he said, 'to settle in my own mind the composition of the parties which have hitherto appeared in this House. And, in reviewing the events which have taken place during the last fortnight, it was not difficult to recognize that the members now present in this House had separated themselves into three tolerably easily-to-be defined parties.' Stafford pointed out that the

1. *N.Z. Parl. Debates*, 1856-8, p. 85.

party to which he belonged was the largest. In fact, it had only one member fewer than the other two combined. Hence, in order to establish a ministry, he must enter into a coalition with one of the other two groups. First he consulted his own supporters: 'I therefore conferred with those members of that party whom I should have desired to see associated with me in the Government (the Centralists); and the result of that conference convinced me that, while those honourable gentlemen were not indisposed to act with one section (the Moderates) of the majority who had defeated them, they were not prepared to co-operate with the other section (the Provincialists).' He then approached the Moderates to see if he could detach them from the Provincialists. Instead he found that the other two groups had decided to work together. 'I made, however, no direct overture myself to any gentleman of that party, nor did I address a single member of it until two o'clock yesterday, and then only after I had ascertained that *a meeting had been held by the members composing the majority* (Moderates and Provincialists). I then asked two gentlemen present at that meeting whether any agreement had been come to which would prevent either of the parties who composed it, or any member who was present, from acting separately . . . Those gentlemen intimated to me, in reply, that they were parties to a resolution which bound them individually as well as a party; upon which all negotiation between myself and them from that moment ceased.'² Here in this statement of Stafford are the rudimentary elements of a modern party system. The term 'party' itself is in frequent use; the would-be premier consults his own supporters; the opposing groups hold a meeting and agree upon a common policy that is to bind them.

Five years later occurs another clear instance of what is in effect a caucus meeting. By this time New Zealand was embroiled in the beginning of the Maori wars. A general election had been held early in 1861, and the newly-chosen parliament contained a majority hostile to Stafford who was still premier. In the debate on the address-in-reply, it became evident that Stafford was likely to be defeated. His opponents were in favour of placing conditions upon the military assistance which they promised the governor, who at that date still controlled defence and native policy. In particular they were anxious to maintain restrictions upon the use of the militia, preferring that regular troops should be employed as far as possible. Consequently, a majority of members met together, and finally adopted an amendment to the address-in-reply proposed by Alfred Saunders. Stafford, learning what was in the wind, temporarily evaded defeat by accepting their resolution. The majority meeting was described

2. *ibid.* (author's italics).

in this way by William Fox, the leader of the anti-war party: 'Honourable gentlemen would, no doubt, remember that on Wednesday last he had asked for time in order that he and his friends might consider the address proposed by the Government, and prepare an amendment. The following day they met, to the number of more than a majority of the House, not, as the Colonial Secretary³ had rashly asserted, at a "convivial gathering at a tavern," but in a Committee-room of this House. An amendment was proposed by the honourable member for the Waimea (Saunders), agreed to unanimously, and that honourable gentleman was requested, as being attached to no party, to move it in the House.'⁴ Saunders himself referred to the meeting, and offered a few more details about it. 'He had been,' he said, 'at all the *hole-and-corner meetings* that had taken place; but he did not feel himself at liberty to tell what took place in them. . . . Yesterday afternoon he met the honourable member for Rangitikei (Fox) and some of his more or less warm supporters in a Committee-room of the House. Some suggestions were then made of an amendment which he did not approve of entirely, nor did the greater part of those present; and they did him the honour to accept the amendment which he had written the previous night.'⁵

It is interesting to find in these statements that the secrecy surrounding a modern caucus was already present in its prototype. The mover of the victorious resolution 'did not feel himself at liberty to tell what took place.' Likewise it appears that the procedure at such a gathering of party members was already assuming a somewhat formal character. Rival proposals are offered and are discussed, and one of them is finally adopted as the view of the meeting. Here may be observed the germ-cell of an 'inner legislature,' as the caucus has now become. So similar, indeed, was this meeting to a caucus that Saunders himself later alludes to it by this name. Thirty years afterwards when he published his history of New Zealand, he calls it 'an opposition caucus.'⁶ The anachronism is significant.

In 1865 another party meeting of the caucus variety was held. When the Weld ministry fell, the house turned again to Stafford. He had once before given New Zealand a stable ministry; and a stable ministry was desperately needed after four had been overturned in the space of four years. Accordingly, Stafford was offered the premiership at a party meeting. The incident is related seven years later by Julius Vogel, one-time a supporter of the provinces but later responsible for their abolition: 'Sir, all the prominent members of this House who are provincial in their tendencies, as well as all those holding those views who have left the House, were

3. The Premier was still referred to at this time as the Colonial Secretary.

4. *N.Z. Parl. Debates*, 1861-63, pp. 98-9.

5. *ibid.*, p. 100 (author's italics).

6. Alfred Saunders, *History of New Zealand* (Christchurch, N.Z., 1891), i, p. 446.

members of the party whose vote turned out Mr. Weld's Government, and who, in a little room in this building, asked the honourable member for Timaru (Stafford) to accept the position of head of the Government, under the assurance—alas, it was a very delusive one!—that he would carry out the policy of his party.⁷ In the year 1872 I find another account of a gathering of members which is similar to a caucus. It is mentioned by Stafford after his third and very short-lived ministry had been defeated. He tells us: 'With reference to the honourable member's assertion as to a dissolution being discountenanced by us, I can assure him that, on the night of the division which resulted in my retirement from office, we were waited on by *a delegation of members* from every Province in New Zealand, requesting us to urge a dissolution.'⁸ This meeting, like the others, exhibits the characteristics of a caucus in the early parliamentary practice of New Zealand. The instances collected above are taken from the years 1856, 1861, 1865, and 1872. This list is not necessarily an exhaustive one; but, it is sufficient to prove that members of kindred political views did meet together from time to time.

Caucus Meetings, 1876-84

The earliest instance I have discovered that is actually described in Hansard as a caucus took place in the year 1876, a significant date in the history of New Zealand. This was the year in which the provinces were abolished as the result of an act passed in 1875 at Vogel's instigation. Abolition was especially favoured by Conservatives and large landowners who feared the rising Liberal parties in certain of the provincial legislatures. Hoping to counteract Liberalism, they sanctioned the destruction of the provinces; and Vogel, an ex-Provincialist who had somersaulted into a Centralist, led the campaign. In their shortsightedness the Conservatives failed to foresee that the Liberal groups, formerly scattered through the separate provincial councils, would now amalgamate at the centre. Hence, a new party alignment emerged in the General Assembly based on broad political and economic issues. Men who acted together from common conviction were likely to develop a stronger party organization. The newly elected parliament of 1876 contained many Conservative supporters of Vogel, the premier; but it also housed a vigorous opposition led by the implacable Sir George Grey, joint architect of the ruined provincial system.

At the very beginning of the new session, Grey attacked the ministry by proposing to delay 'the sale of certain lands known as the Piako Swamp lands.'⁹ Stating that the conditions of the proposed sale to two ex-ministers (Messrs. Whitaker and Russell) were illegal, he obtained a majority of nine against Vogel in the first

7. *N.Z. Hansard*, xiii (1872), p. 567.
9. *ibid.* xx (1876), p. 8.

8. *ibid.*, p. 678 (author's italics).

division of the session.¹⁰ The premier consequently held a meeting of his supporters, and enforced their approval of the government by a threat of resignation. Here is his own account: 'On Saturday a meeting of the supporters of the Government was held, and a request was made to the Government to defer any decision until Monday, when a larger meeting would take place. The reply the Government made was to this effect: that if they remained in office they could only do so on condition that the Piako Swamp matter should be at once cleared up, and that it should be understood that the House did not intend to interfere with the ordinary course of administration. The position, in fact, is very simple. If the Crown grant for the Piako Swamp is not to issue in the ordinary course, the Government said that other Advisers must be found for His Excellency . . .'¹¹ A little later in the same debate Robert Stout, a radical young lawyer who supported Grey, protested against Vogel's disclosures: 'Sir, I do not say it is unparliamentary, but rather unusual, to make a ministerial statement of the kind the Premier made this evening. I am not aware that Ministers of the Crown have been in the habit of bringing before Parliament what took place at a meeting of their supporters, or what took place between themselves and their supporters. It is supposed that these things are done secretly; and *if it is parliamentary to refer to such a thing as a caucus meeting*, I can only assume we are getting sort of Americanized in some of our proceedings, and this serves as the first step in making us acquainted with *what are called caucuses and rings*.'¹² Plainly, the delicacy with which Stout introduces the word 'caucus' indicates that it has not been in common usage. One can safely infer that it is a term newly employed to describe a practice which in itself was not new. It is, moreover, applied in a manner which insinuates an unsavoury connotation. Stout, although politically radical, exercised a lawyer's caution in linguistic innovation, and was obviously half-expecting a rebuke from the Speaker's chair. A little later another member, Reader Wood, used the word without any such apology or explanation: 'Why, could those gentlemen who attended the caucus find no more definite and clear form of words in which they could manifest their confidence than such a flimsy resolution as this?'¹³

The caucus meeting of 1876, however, was a very tame affair compared with the famous events in the session of 1879. Grey, the leader of the Liberal party, had been in power for two years; but his ministry was losing ground, and did not fare well in the general

10. *ibid.*, p. 9.

11. *ibid.*, pp. 52-3.

12. *ibid.*, p. 73 (author's italics). Stout covertly insinuates that such Americanization is undesirable. His attitude in this debate is coloured by the special pleading of a lawyer, for elsewhere, in the very same volume, he cites with strong approval the American experiments in prohibition.

13. *ibid.*, p. 84.

election of 1879. When the new parliament assembled, the premier was narrowly defeated on the address-in-reply by 43 votes to 41, a defeat due rather to internal dissensions among the Liberals than to the strength of the opposition. Grey accordingly resigned from the premiership and from the leadership of his party, which was unable to find an adequate substitute. Meanwhile a Conservative ministry was formed under John Hall and took its uneasy position on the government benches. Never sure of its majority, it dared not face a division. Indeed, on the first division that did occur, it was beaten by 38 to 36; and Hall had to rise apologetically and explain that 'two gentlemen who are supporters of the Government are absent and are not paired.'¹⁴ For about a fortnight there lasted an unedifying deadlock. The new ministry introduced their opponents' own measures; whilst the Liberal opposition obstructed debate in order to have placed on the order paper a motion of want of confidence. Eventually, to break the deadlock, four members from Auckland, who had been supporters of Grey, agreed to turn over their votes to Hall, provided that certain conditions were met. As soon as this became known, an acrimonious debate ensued in which the four Aucklanders were assailed by their erstwhile colleagues with every parliamentary epithet and with some that were unparliamentary. The debate elicited charges and counter-charges about the happenings at Liberal caucus meetings. Grey himself asserted: 'Forty-two gentlemen entered into an agreement that they would form no coalition until the vote (of no confidence) which had been so long pending was taken. That agreement was deliberately come to.'¹⁵ Reader Wood, one of the four Aucklanders, recounted his own proceedings in sentences that use the word 'caucus' without any opprobrious reference: 'Now, I came here, and I supported Sir George Grey up to the very point, aye, and beyond it, when he himself, in opposition to my advice, given privately and given publicly, *in what we call a caucus*—in opposition, I say, to my advice—he retired from the leadership of the party . . . I would recall honourable gentlemen's recollection to what took place at the caucus. What did I say? I said, "Our policy now is a waiting policy; let us see what it is these honourable gentlemen are going to do; let us adhere to Sir George Grey, and force him back again upon a reluctant House" . . . I am now referring to the caucus held immediately after the division, and which was held in the Ministers' room.'¹⁶

The internal procedure of the caucus now appears to have developed further the formal character noticeable in 1861. At least, motions and counter-motions are proposed, and the minority are regarded as morally bound by the majority. 'I was overruled,'

14. *ibid.*, xxxii (1879), p. 198.15. *ibid.*, p. 526.16. *ibid.*, p. 523 (author's italics).

continued Wood, 'there was not a human being in the meeting who supported me in that. But another resolution was moved and carried, to which I am now coming. That other resolution was this: that there should be no coalition.'¹⁷ So frequently were caucuses held during these troubled weeks, that one can even draw an implied distinction between regular and accidental meetings. 'I would further,' declared Reid, 'call the remembrance of the honourable member to the very last caucus we had—*an accidental caucus, if I may term it so*—when the honourable member for Port Chalmers met ten or fourteen of us in the passage, and said we had better have a meeting to see what amendment should be proposed to measures that the Government were bringing down. We went into one of the rooms, and the honourable member for Port Chalmers produced a very mild amendment . . .'¹⁸ Further, we learn that a new member of the house was asked to attend a caucus, after he had voted with the Liberals in a division. 'Now, I come to myself', announced Lundon, 'and my party. I came into the House the day of the division on the want-of-confidence motion. There were eight gentlemen besides myself present who had held seats in the Provincial Council. Seeing those gentlemen, I knew, without inquiry, which side it was right to vote upon, and, like an old cavalry horse, I took my place in the ranks of my own party, and went with them into the lobby. After that, I had an invitation to a caucus of the party next day. I went . . .'¹⁹ These confessions of the 'old cavalry horse' are valuable, not only for their information about the caucus, but also for their incidental evidence on the carry-over of political loyalties from provincial to central politics. They indicate the presence of a party cohesiveness which made the caucus possible.

By the time of this debate in the year 1879, one can clearly see that the caucus is already becoming established. During the decade that followed, references to caucus meetings occur with much greater frequency and without any apologetic explanations. Thus, in 1883, the problem arose of selecting a committee to investigate charges brought by a member of parliament, Dargaville, against the premier, Whitaker, and the treasurer, Atkinson. There was consultation between Atkinson and the Opposition Whip as to the personnel of the committee.²⁰ Richard John Seddon, the future autocrat who ruled New Zealand from 1893 to 1906, then protested that he, a loyal Liberal supporter, knew nothing about the arrangements and criticized Montgomery, the Liberal leader. 'I was not aware myself', he said, 'that the honourable member for Akaroa (Montgomery) had consented to my honourable friend here being nominated as a mem-

17. *ibid.*, p. 524. The decision not to enter a coalition was taken after 'a show of hands' (p. 531).

18. *ibid.*, p. 531 (author's italics).

19. *ibid.*, p. 614.

20. *ibid.* xlv (1883), pp. 502-3.

ber of the Committee, and, if he did, it was his place to have got up in this House, as leader, and said that he had accepted the honourable member for the Hutt as a substitute for the honourable member for Waitemata, and then I should not have said a word . . . We know of things first from the Government side of the House. If that is party fighting, then I am done with it.'²¹ To this attack Montgomery replied just as Seddon himself would have done in a later day: 'I feel that the honourable member . . . has misunderstood the matter. There cannot be caucuses of the party called on all questions; and if there is not some confidence in the chief of a party there can be no party at all.'²²

Only the next year, in 1884, Seddon alludes to a caucus held by the Conservative party: 'We are told that the Government supporters, a minority in this House, have held a caucus. I hear they were equally divided as to whether the honourable course of resignation should not be taken by Ministers.'²³ This meeting, be it noticed, took place after the Atkinson ministry had suffered defeat in the house. The premier requested the governor for a dissolution, and obtained it. Some of the Liberals, however, complained that he should have resigned to allow them to form a ministry. Atkinson evidently consulted his party on the question before deciding to appeal to the country. Later in the same year, after the general election had been held, there were a few weeks of upheaval in Wellington during which three ministries went out of office in rapid succession. During the process of ministry-making caucuses were plentiful. One member, Buckland, declared: 'It was never put before the country that one member of the Cabinet was to insist on bringing in another, and that a caucus should take place of the nebulous matter we have heard so much of, which became very coherent matter when the Canterbury caucus decided that certain arrangements should take place—seventeen or eighteen members deciding who were to be the Ministry.'²⁴ By this date the employment of the term, as well as the holding of such meetings, seems to be familiar and normal.

In this historical survey various points of interest emerge. It is noticeable that on the first occasion when the term 'caucus' is used, it is in a derogatory sense. Thereafter it is employed, without emotional content, to refer simply to any meeting of members. Further, the term is applied to party gatherings both of the Liberals and of the Conservatives, and its use is not restricted to any one side of the house. Thirdly, in the 'eighties the caucus has acquired many of its modern features. Its discussions are secret; its procedures are relatively formalized; and its decisions are at least morally binding on the participants. Fourthly, one observes that many of the

21. *ibid.*, p. 504.

23. *ibid.* xlvii (1884), p. 170.

22. *ibid.*, p. 505.

24. *ibid.* xlviii (1884), p. 94.

'meetings' before 1876 and of the 'caucuses' after that date were convened when a ministry was being constructed. There is an important difference between irregular meetings of partisans assembled merely to assure a general support for a new ministry and periodic meetings to discuss current policy during the life of a ministry. When the latter type occurs, caucus begins to find the opportunity for asserting its own rights; and the way is open for it to challenge the dominance of cabinet. Vogel, for example, found it necessary to cow the caucus of 1876 by threatening to resign, but not all the premiers have taken the same strong line.

In all the instances quoted above, 'caucus' is regularly used to mean a gathering of legislative representatives. But when the term came to be employed in Britain, it was differently applied. Disraeli, with his novelist's flair for the picturesque, dramatically introduced it to British public life in 1878, when he flung it as a taunt at the Liberal Association in Birmingham. Once the Conservative leader had placed his hall-mark on the term, it was, as a matter of course, dutifully echoed by *The Times*. In a leading article the Tory organ remarked: 'The policy of the politicians of the Midland capital will bring upon us the "caucus" with all its evils.'²⁵ The next day they published in their correspondence columns a letter of protest from Joseph Chamberlain, who objected to so derogatory a description of his organization.²⁶ That same year in an article contributed to *The Fortnightly*, he claimed that such a word was 'essentially inexact and misleading,' and also 'inferentially offensive.'²⁷ Notice that this Liberal Association, referred to as a caucus, was an organization of party members, not inside Parliament, but among the electorate. Notice, too, that Disraeli's popularization of the term post-dated of the house. Thirdly, in the 'eighties the caucus has acquired many to challenge the dominance of cabinet. Vogel, for example, found Stout's use of it in a New Zealand debate by two years. Hitherto, the direct influence of the United States on New Zealand development has been underestimated by those who have written about the dominion. The evolution of the electoral laws, the organization of the civil service, and the prohibition movement, all exhibit some remarkable parallelisms to, or deliberate borrowings from, their American counterparts. To these may be added the smaller, but nevertheless significant, item of the introduction of the word 'caucus.'

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25. *The Times*, 31 July, 1878.

27. *The Fortnightly*, 1 Nov., 1878, p. 721.

26. *ibid.*, 1 August, 1878.

AUSTRALIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS DURING THE GOLD RUSH*

CONTACT between the United States and Australia was not initiated by the gold rush; but only then did Americans find in Australia a steady market for their goods, and Australia moved from the frayed edge to a proper place within the world pattern of American communications.

Australia in her infancy offered small attraction to the merchant. Her settlers were few and poor, and her shores were off the beaten track of sailing ships. Yet Americans were there almost from the very outset. The dependence of Sydney on overseas supplies, combined with the exclusion of British shippers because of the East India Co.'s monopoly, made a possible opening for the American trader. True, the market was small, uncertain, and far distant, but a few American ships were already on the China run, mostly going out rather light in lading. Hence the prospect of another Pacific market was not an unattractive one to the China trader.

From 1792 American ships, usually traders bound for China, appeared regularly in Port Jackson. Twenty-two came in in the first ten years.¹ Most of them 'put into Sydney for the purpose of wood and water,' but invariably with 'a quantity of spirits and provisions for sale.'² The trade was scarcely recognized as legal but dire necessity forced the hand of the government and few American ships had to carry much of their cargo away. On more than one occasion the 'starving-time' threatened by the delay of a supply ship was avoided by the timely arrival of an American cargo.³

The turn of the century saw a sudden increase of American activity in Australian waters, an increase that was considered a threat by governor King and a section of the nascent merchant community of Sydney. The discovery of seals in Bass Strait attracted American sealers and several disputes occurred with local sealing gangs.⁴ When the complaints of the sealers were reinforced by government annoyance over American assistance to escaped convicts regulations designed to check American activity were introduced. Foreign ships were restricted to Neutral Bay, and each had to pay a security of £200 (later raised to £500) against unlawful trading and the seizure of convicts.⁵ In August, 1804, American sealers were forbidden to conduct sealing operations along the Australian coast, or to use

*Summary of the main chapters of a thesis presented for the M.A. Degree, University of Melbourne, 1941. cf. C. D. Rowley, 'Clarence River Separation in 1860' (vol. I, p. 225), based upon a recent Sydney University thesis.

1. Figures from shipping lists in the *Sydney Gazette*, and from enclosures in official despatches.

2. *Hist. Records of N.S.W.*, i. 498. 3. *ibid.* iii. 2; iv. 226, 363.

4. *Sydney Gazette*, 28/5/1803, 8/1/1804, 22/1/1804, 16/3/1804, for movements of the American ship *Union*. *ibid.*, 27/11/1803, 1/8/1804, for complaints of local whalers against the activities of the *Charles*.

5. *H.R. of N.S.W.*, iv. 144.

Sydney as a base for sealing voyages further afield.⁶ But the Americans were not so easily scared off. Despite the decline of sealing—and the Americans neglected Bass Strait after 1805—Americans were actively engaged around the east Australian coast for some years. The discovery of sandalwood at Fiji and the restrictions imposed by the East India Co. on local exports—China being the chief market for both sealskins and sandalwood—encouraged some Sydney merchants to enter into agreements with American traders.⁷ King, and later Bligh, had trouble with American rum-runners.⁸

Apart from the restrictions imposed by King, sealing declined suddenly through decimation of the seals and depression of the market. Coincident with this was the rapid deterioration of Anglo-American relations, resulting in the embargo on American shipping in 1808 and open war in 1812. Furthermore the Australian trade was opened to London in 1807, and Australian commercial and shipping interests grew more naturally into the imperial stem. From 1810 American trade with Australia was scarcely profitable, even as an appendage to trade with China.

Direct trade between Australia and the United States was not resumed till 1832, when the *Tybee*, a Boston South-Sea trader, called at Sydney and rediscovered a market.⁹ The *Tybee* also carried back the first Australian cargo to the United States, hides, skins, and horns. The arrival of the *Tybee* was hailed by the *Gazette* as offering the opportunity to organize a regular exchange of goods between the two countries, America to supply provisions and spirits, tobacco and timber products, Australia to send in return wool, hides, skins, and tallow.¹⁰ But the vision was imperfectly realized. A small export of Australian goods did develop, but it made no progress against the high American tariff.¹¹ The highest point reached was slightly less than £30,000; and by 1843 export had ceased altogether.¹² The import of American goods was somewhat larger and more varied, but very unsteady, and declined rapidly from 1844. Between 1836 and 1843 this trade was in the hands of a single American firm, Kenworthy and Co., the first American firm to establish themselves in Australia.¹³ In these years imports were higher and more regular, though the average annual trade of this firm scarcely amounted to £30,000. Yet the regularity of this commercial connection was considered sufficient, in 1836, to warrant the appointment of the

6. *ibid.*, v. 416.

7. *ibid.*, v. 514, and *Sydney Gazette*, 28/10/1804: agreement between S. Lord, R. Campbell, and Captain Pendleton, of the *Union*.

8. *H.R. of N.S.W.*, vi. 41, 645 ff. and *Sydney Gazette*, 23/1/1806.

9. Direct trade by American ships with many British ports, including Sydney, was permitted by a reciprocal trade agreement in 1830.

10. *Sydney Gazette*, 21/8/1832.

11. The duty on wool in 1832 was 4c. per lb. and 40% *ad valorem*.

12. Probably due to the closing down of Kenworthy & Co. in that year.

13. Individual American merchants had settled in Sydney earlier than this. Captain Driver, of the *Black Warrior*, settled there in 1833 and Captain Millet, of the *Tybee*, in 1835.

first American consul to Australia, Mr. J. H. Williams,¹⁴ though he did not arrive in Sydney till January, 1839.

In the first half of the nineteenth century more ships came to the Pacific in search of whales than in pursuit of trade. The British-American war caused considerable disruption of the whale fleet, but recovery was steady and the industry reached its peak between 1830 and 1850. In these years the American fleet was more than doubled, a small but active French fleet was introduced, and an Australian sperm industry developed. More important than this increase in the size of the industry was a shifting of activities southwards. As early as 1819 the Bay of Islands was a favourite rendezvous for whalers, with Americans to the fore. About 1833 Americans began shore whaling in earnest.¹⁵ At first their efforts were directed towards New Zealand, but soon they extended their activities westward along the whole length of the Southern Australian coast. The American whaler *Virginia* was operating off Gage's Roads, Western Australia, in February, 1837, and others speedily followed suit.¹⁶ In a few years scores of American whalers were operating off the coasts of Western and South Australia.¹⁷

Despite the proximity of important sperm fields to Sydney and Hobart, American whalers made small use of these ports. Three American whalers operated from Sydney between 1805 and 1812, but the practice was discontinued during the war and was not renewed. Official discouragement of foreign shipping and local disinterest in whaling caused the Americans to avoid Sydney. The improvement of commercial relations between Britain and the United States after 1830, the development of a local whaling industry, the construction of Mosman's wharf in 1831, and the establishment of American consular representation in Australia changed the situation. About a score of American whaleships visited Mosman's in the twelve years, 1831-1842, and many more went to Hobart. After 1843 improvements in the facilities granted to foreign whalers brought Sydney to the fore, and in 1846 and 1847 no fewer than forty-six American whalers visited the port.¹⁸ But the patronage was soon withdrawn, for gold, which caused so many things to boom, brought depression to the whaling industry. Many American whalers found their way into the 'Frisco trade; several of

14. *The Australian*, 17/1/1839; *N.S.W. Gov. Gazette*, 6/2/1839. Further consular appointments were made for Hobart, 1843, and Melbourne, 1852: see A. R. Hasse, *Index to United States Documents Relating to Foreign Affairs*, 1828-61 (Washington, 1921), pt. 3, pp. 1707, 1710, 1712. See also n. 47 *infra*.

15. R. McNab, *The Old Whaling Days* (1913), *passim*.

16. *Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal*, 18/2/1837, 11/3/1837.

17. No accurate estimate of their members is possible. Eyre's guess of about 300 operating off the southern coast (*Journals*, i (1845), 228) is not an exaggeration, seeing that the U.S. Pacific whaling fleet was about 700 strong at this time. No fewer than 24 American whalers called at Port Leschenault, Koombana Bay, in three months in 1841 (J. S. Battye, *History of Western Australia*, app. v.)

18. Lists from *Shipping Gazette and Sydney General Trades List*.

those at Sydney entered as emigrant vessels. So great was the slump that Mosman's wharf and shore works closed down in 1851.

Over the period of their activity American whalers probably drew some millions of dollars in oil and bone from the fishery in Australian waters, and by using Hobart and Sydney as bases were able to make longer and more profitable voyages. For Australia the indirect results—a stimulus to imitation and an argument for expansion—were certainly more marked than the direct increase in the volume of Australian-American trade. The whaleship, though a travelling storehouse for its own needs, could offer few goods suitable to a well-established European community,¹⁹ and even this small commerce was made awkward by British trade regulations which placed so high a duty on foreign caught oil²⁰—the chief article the whaler could offer for sale—that it was unacceptable to Sydney merchants.

One of the most fruitful seizures of territory in history was the United States' capture of California a few months prior to the discovery of gold. The gold rush not only provided the west coast with a population worthy of the east, but by the necessity for organizing transport and supplies brought about a sudden increase in Pacific commerce. In this commerce Australia had a part. Though there was some trade between Australia and South America from 1820 there was no contact with the western coast of North America prior to 1848. Then California was suddenly revealed as a land of easy fortune, and of teeming thousands wanting food, clothing, and all manner of supplies. Australian ports, particularly Sydney, were conveniently situated to supply these wants. Though less able to satisfy than New York or London they were nearer by several weeks in the days of sail and round about communications. The response to the Californian gold discovery was felt in eastern America in October, 1848; in Australia the rush began only in the new year, when solid fact had undermined Australian scepticism. The *Sydney Morning Herald* leader for 4 January, 1849, was on 'The New Gold Country,' an article in an optimistic vein, pleased at the prospect of a new market, particularly since prices of flour and grain were unusually low in Sydney and abnormally high in San Francisco. Enthusiasm was keenest in Sydney, where no fewer than eight ships were laid on for California in January, 1849. In Tasmania there was similar excitement, and Launceston and Hobart shippers prepared to export large quantities of grain and timber.²¹ The Melbourne

19. Modern authorities seem to have followed Melville's assertion that the whalers made a significant contribution to Australian imports, but there is no evidence for this from the daily imports lists. See Melville, *Moby Dick*, ch. xxiv; Dakin, *Whalemen Adventurers* (1934) p. 118; Crowther, *Notes on Tasmanian Whaling*, (*Papers & Proceedings of the Tasmanian Royal Society*, 1919), p. 141.

20. £26/12/- per tun imperial.
21. For Tasmanian reaction to the Gold Rush in California, see *The Cornwall Chronicle*, and *The Launceston Examiner*, *passim*.

press was less enthusiastic and from the outset more inclined to pessimism. More remote and less suited to share in the commercial advantages than Sydney, Melbourne stood to suffer all the disadvantages of the gold rush, the withdrawal of valuable labour. The *Argus* leader of 19 January issued a solemn warning to the working classes to be 'careful how they exchange health, competence, and security here for a feverish dream in California.' A rather exaggerated and highly imaginative picture of the social anarchy of the gold rush was given as an additional deterrent. But Melbourne workers thought otherwise, and a public meeting to arrange passages to California was held at the Commercial Hotel on 22 January. However emigrants were slow in coming forward, and the first ship did not leave for the gold fields until 23 June.

In Sydney—after the initial plunge of January—there was a marked freezing of enthusiasm. Until news came of the arrival and fate of the first fleet caution was bound to prevail. Those who had shipped goods in January had sent mostly the obvious necessities—flour, bread, stores, soft goods, blankets, and ready-made clothing. The arrival of favourable intelligence in March caused a revival of activity. Robert Towns—Pacific trader and whaler, and the first to lay a ship on for California—wrote in June that 'People here are running mad after California—got completely bit by the *yellow fever*.'²² In the following month he stated his firm conviction that San Francisco would soon be

much overstocked with every description of goods, not excepting the necessities of life—therefore to ship for that quarter would be madness—I fully expect merchandise of all sorts will be sacrificed for the want of protection, and it will be a first rate place to purchase British goods at half cost price—and your best Investment will be *Treasury or Bank Bills* on England.²³

From August, 1849—when the first news was had of the January shipments—the trade was placed on a surer footing. By this time several branches of Sydney firms had been established in San Francisco and commercial intelligence was more frequent and more accurate. Shipments of beer and building materials remained steady throughout 1850; exports of mining equipment and English soft goods declined somewhat, while shipments of colonial provisions, particularly flour and bread, increased rapidly. Heavier cargoes were also sought, and Tasmania sent across several cargoes of timber, while mainland shippers began the export of Newcastle coal.²⁴

The fever subsided suddenly in 1851. In the first half of 1851 three persons arrived for every person who left N.S.W. for California. Elsewhere, in Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia, emigration

22. R. Towns to Collins, 27/6/49 (Mitchell Library, Towns Mss., Bk. 5).

23. Towns to Wentworth, 28/6/49.

24. Newcastle shipped £4,137 in coal to the U.S.A. in 1849; 28 ships with a total tonnage of 10,568 carried this trade.

was at a standstill.²⁵ Though less sudden than the decline in emigration there was a large dropping off in trade with California. Eighty-six ships (27,804 tons) cleared N.S.W. for the United States in 1850, but only twenty-six (9,457 tons) left in 1851. Exports fell from £95,473 to £33,784. Tasmania clung to the trade more tenaciously than the mainland, and the decline, though serious, was less marked; twenty-seven ships (7,236 tons) leaving for the U.S.A. in 1851 as compared with fifty ships (12,022 tons) in 1850.

It is difficult to say how long this Australian export trade would have lasted had not the discovery of gold placed Australia in a similar condition to that of California. This transference of the gold rush across the Pacific brought about a reversal of roles; from a source of supply Australia became a market, and owing to the sudden enlargement of this market Australian-American trade became more one-sided than ever.

America in 1851 was in a better position to enter Australian trade than she had been thirty years before. Not only had American production of primary products increased enormously but her manufacturing industries were becoming better organized. Her ships were the fastest in the world, her skippers the hardest, and her merchants the keenest. Moreover, not only did California bring American shippers into the Pacific, but it gave American exporters experience which could readily be turned to the similar field of Australia, especially since in 1852 California was somewhat in a depression. Again the removal of the Navigation Acts in 1851 enabled American shippers to enter fields from which they had previously been excluded. Foreign ships were at length given equal rights with British ships in Australian ports. Preferential duties were abolished in N.S.W. (1851), while Victoria went a step further and abolished both the differential system and the whole of the smaller duties (13 August 1852). Moreover the general increase in international trade and the influx of population caused by the gold rush made a certain part of the Australian public less imperialist and parochial in outlook, more inclined to cosmopolitanism.²⁶ American merchants were more readily welcomed in 1853 than in 1823, not merely because they were more necessary, but because they were viewed less suspiciously.

In Sydney the American impact was less perceptible as it was somewhat obscured by the return of Australians from California. From 1851 to 1853 immigrants from the United States to New South Wales numbered 8,346,²⁷ spread fairly evenly over the three

25. Only 12 persons left Victoria for California in 1851 whereas 176 had left in 1850 and 193 in 1849. Only one person left from South Australia as compared with 650 (1850), and 105 (1849).

26. cf. *Sydney Morning Herald* leader, 23/7/1851, and *Argus* leaders, 4/5/1852, 21/9/1853.

27. Estimates based on passenger lists as given in *Sydney Shipping Gazette*.

years. Imports of goods increased more suddenly, rising from £14,127 in 1851 to £29,690 in 1852, and £218,795 in 1853.²⁸ In contrast to Sydney, however, America entered the Melbourne market with the suddenness of an invasion. American ships were newcomers there, unknown till 1849, and with only thirteen coming in 1852. In 1853, however no fewer than 134 arrived, a total tonnage of 60,000.²⁹ Victorian imports from the United States jumped from £60,363 (1852) to £1,668,606 (1853).

Sixty-eight of these ships arrived in the four winter months, from May to August. So sudden an increase in imports would have knocked the bottom out of any market save that of Melbourne in the winter of 1853. Transport difficulties made it hard to clear off goods to the inland during the winter, but cautious managing and wise withholding kept prices at a good level for some months. Nevertheless, continued arrivals taxed the storage capacity of Melbourne warehouses, and towards the end of July large quantities of barrel flour, damaged through inadequate shelter, were released on the market.³⁰ The result of this increase in quantity and decrease in quality was a sudden fall in American flour and the ruin of several smaller firms. By September, American flour was being withdrawn as fast as it landed, to Sydney, Liverpool, and even to California.³¹

American shipments to Australia were at first mainly bulk cargoes; flour, grain, provisions and timber formed about half the imports in 1853. Almost 40% of Victorian flour imports for 1853 and 31% of N.S.W. imports came from U.S.A. Of the various other articles brought some found a ready market but many sold more slowly than British and European goods in the same lines. Americans soon adjusted themselves to local demand, however, and though the volume of American goods imported decreased steadily from 1853—it had fallen below the million mark in Victoria by 1856—the trade in certain goods remained firm and even increased. American firms became well established in Sydney and Melbourne and accurate trade reporting enabled regular and fast shipments of goods to Australia.

MAIN VICTORIAN IMPORTS FROM U.S.A.

		Average	Average	Average
I. Foodstuffs.	1853	1856-60	1861-65	1866-70*
	£	£	£	£
Flour and Bread	317,705	40,030	16,040	6,985
Wheat and Grain	66,103	108,320	41,590	82,410

28. The figures for Sydney, 1853, are very much underestimated as they fail to take into account the large volume of goods, especially flour, landed in Melbourne and then re-shipped.

29. Figures based on Melbourne newspaper lists. The figures in the *Statistical Register* show only ships entering direct from America and thus omit many ships that came on to Melbourne after a call at Sydney.

30. *Herald*, 2/8/53.

31. *ibid.*, September-December, 1853.

Preserved and Salted				
Meats	105,896	16,448	1,564	566
Fish	33,281	20,289	15,360	10,488
Fruit	20,371	16,869	8,730	2,744
Butter and Cheese	65,440	8,419	1	—
II. <i>Cordials, Beer, Spirits,</i>				
<i>etc.</i>	54,300	12,500	13,500	18,800
III. <i>Tobacco</i>	109,122	102,326	184,892	125,800
IV. <i>Forest Products.</i>				
Timber and Timber				
Extracts	276,265	135,830	101,780	65,440
Wood Manufactures . .	55,719	81,074	56,548	38,580
Carriages, etc.	9,384	29,724	39,975	15,000
V. <i>Metal Manufactures.</i>				
Hardware, Tools, Iron-				
mongery	140,318	85,805	77,200	54,350
Agric. Implements . .	60	8,455	1,646	590
Other Machinery	977	8,610	19,655	24,500
VI. <i>Kerosene</i>	—	—	68,650	135,300

*No figures available for 1868.

The success of Americans in supplying the Australian demand for flour and grain, timber and timber products, and tobacco, is not to be wondered at, but the popularity of certain American manufactured goods gave an unpleasant surprise to British firms. American hardware, particularly axes, picks and shovels, was considered better than British. In a few commodities—such as stoves and carriages—America had almost a monopoly. In these years Americans acquired a name for initiation and invention which they have kept ever since. Of the various 'Yankee notions' that proved acceptable to Australian society were the American buggy, ice and refrigeration, icecream, canned foodstuffs, maizena, india rubber, plaster of paris, kerosene, and the sewing machine.

There were few Americans resident in Australia before 1850, and even in the gold rush immigrants were few compared with those from other places. In the six years, 1851-1856, only 10,000 persons arrived in Sydney and 8,500 in Melbourne from the United States and not all of these were Americans. There were only 2,761 persons of United States birth living in Victoria in March, 1854, and slightly more than a thousand in N.S.W. Of the Victorian Americans 55%

were at the gold fields—though only a minority of these came directly from California.³² The most important section of the Australian Americans was the merchant community. Several American firms, such as Adams and Co. (express agents, New York and San Francisco), and Hussey, Bond, and Hale (general provision merchants, San Francisco), established branches both at Sydney and Melbourne in 1852-3. But perhaps the most vigorous were those who came out of their own accord to seek their fortunes. Some of these—as Freeman, Cobb and G. F. Train—gained fame and fortune and left in a few short years. Others stayed permanently, as Rutherford, who lived fifty-eight years in Australia, and whose activities ranged from horse breeding and coach driving to the organization of coach building, stock breeding, mining, and steel manufacture; or Samuel Perkins Lord, who kept a well regulated business in Melbourne, and who figured in the Chamber of Commerce for well nigh forty years.

The energy of the American merchant community, 1853-7, was remarkable; their influence was greater than their numbers. In Melbourne they were chiefly responsible for the resurrection of the Exchange in 1853, the Fire Brigade in 1854, and the revitalizing of the Chamber of Commerce.³³ They agitated for road construction, wharf improvements, and mail communication with America. Indeed communications was an American specialty. An American engineer, Samuel McGowan, built the first magnetic electric telegraph line in Australia, from Melbourne to Geelong.³⁴ And the very vital communications between Port Melbourne and Melbourne had their full attention. Train claims to have been the first to promote the Sandridge railway,³⁵ and four American coach-drivers rendered invaluable service in establishing a parcel service from Sandridge station to Port Melbourne in July, 1853. These same four drivers gained enduring fame when they established the first regular coach communication with the gold fields, Cobb & Co., in the following year. Americans were to the fore in the various Victorian coaching companies from 1854 to 1860; James Rutherford became the organizer of Cobb & Co. in 1861, and the organizer of inland communications throughout all eastern Australia till the coming of the railway. Americans took a lead in the organization of Melbourne's transport; they introduced the omnibus of the gold era, and the cable tram of the 'eighties.

Their very energy and success earned them a certain unpopularity. Occasionally—as when 4 July aroused a display of patriotism and chorused boasting—opinion became distinctly hostile. The early

32. Thus of the American arrivals in Melbourne, only 9% in 1853, 7.5% in 1854, 25% in 1855 and 29% in 1856 were from California.

33. cf. *Herald*, 28/5/53, and *Age* leader on 'American Enterprise,' 29/1/1855. Also *Argus*, 10/10/53; and 21/11/53.

34. *Herald*, 9/12/54.

35. G. F. Train, *My Life in Many States and Foreign Lands* (1902).

American miners who transferred their attentions from California to Australia were regarded with suspicion for some considerable time. Fearful of some repetition of the lawlessness of the Californian gold fields they were commonly regarded as 'unprincipled idlers . . . who live only on scenes of anarchy and excitement.'³⁶ However, the reduction of the community after 1856 made it at once less obvious and less odious. Except for the Civil War period, America was regarded as a somewhat distinct but beneficent influence, a country to be admired and imitated. Most parliamentary debates lead to America: we find continual reference to America on the question of land legislation and continued divergence as a result; protectionists seek there the figures and facts to prove their argument, while their opponents find in them a refutation. There was also in the 'fifties a certain admiration for the pattern of American government, for the democratic government of the 'model Republic.' This sentiment changed in the 'sixties to criticism of the American presidential system and extreme democracy; it strengthened resistance to the complete democratic suffrage and revived enthusiasm for the French liberal ideal of the 'juste milieu,' the balance of wealth against numbers, intelligence against ignorance.³⁷ But Australians were long blind to the feature of the American system most worthy of their imitation—Federation. Only at the close of the nineteenth century when they outgrew their own provincialism did Australians feel the real stimulus of American government.

The impact of America at this stage was less in ideas than in men and materials. Nor was the impact of American industry confined to supply; imitation followed introduction, and often imitation under American direction. Victorian coach-building in the 'fifties drew not only on American patterns and American timber, but largely on American builders. When the Civil War impeded supplies American firms gave their support and knowledge to the foundation of Australian tobacco and oil industries, and in the former at least provided a generous sprinkling of directing personnel.³⁸ But the greatest single industrial sphere was mining. Though of lesser importance in the 'fifties, America had a great influence in the 'sixties and subsequently, not so much as a source of capital, but as a model for industrialization and as a source of machinery. An American first placed the Australian iron industry on a firm footing, and of late years Broken Hill has drawn largely on American technicians. And America provided the model for lesser Australian industries. The

36. *Argus* leader, 19/1/1849.

37. Opinions based on Melbourne daily press, leaders and correspondence, 1850-70.

38. Stanford, agent of American kerosene in Melbourne, was the chief shareholder of the Western Kerosene Co., which began operations on oil from shale in 1870. Tobacco importers gave financial assistance as well as technical advice on tobacco growing during the Civil War years.

first cheese factory in Victoria was founded in 1869, on the American pattern, and with American workers and machinery.³⁹ Again, though rather later than the gold era, northern Victoria has successfully copied the Californian industry of fruit-growing by irrigation.

Steam conquered the soil more slowly than it subdued the sea; Cobb and Co. passed slowly out of the picture, but the clipper ship raced across the scene. Yet in the 'fifties sail still held the mastery over steam, and it is largely to the American clipper that we owe the oceanic communications of the gold era. The clipper ship was more an American than a European invention; certainly Americans had the most success in constructing them and in producing the men to sail them. Until British shipbuilders mastered the design—about the middle of the 'fifties—American shipyards filled British as well as their own contracts, and American skippers drove them, to break their own records in the British service. Thus the importance of American ships to Australia was not confined to Australian-American communications; in fact because of the unbalanced nature of American trade with Australia they performed their greater service on the British run.

The stimulus given to American shipbuilding by the Australian gold rush was very great indeed; sixty-six extreme clipper ships were launched in United States ship yards in 1852, one hundred and twenty-five in 1853!⁴⁰ Many of these were fulfilments of British orders and as such made their maiden voyage to Australia. Two British firms, James Baines & Co. (Black Ball Line), and Pilkington and Wilson (White Star Line), made American clippers their main stay, and without regrets, for while the average passage for outward ships for 1853 was 100½ days, the average for the Black Ball and White Star ships was only 85 days.⁴¹ American ships secured record passages, the *Lightning* and the *Red Jacket* made homeward runs of 63 and 64 days in 1854, while the *James Baines* secured the record for the outward trip, 63 days in 1854-5. So confident were ship-owners of the speed and regularity of the clipper ships that when the P. and O. service broke down in 1856 Baines offered a contract for a sixty-five day clipper service.

The performances of clipper ships on the America-Australia run were less remarkable than on the Britain-Australia route. The average passage for the former was 124 days, though many good passages of 80-90 days were recorded.⁴² Several packet services were started between the U.S.A. and Australia in 1853, at least two from

39. *Argus*, 14/4/69, 7/12/69.

40. Carl C. Cuttler, *Greyhounds of the Sea* (1930), ii 251,280.

41. Figures based on information contained in 'Transactions of British ships between the ports of the United Kingdom and the Port of Melbourne, 1840-1857' (Public Library of Victoria).

42. The record for the New York-Melbourne run was 70 days, established by Captain Perit of the *Mandarin*, 1856.

Boston to Melbourne, and from New York to Melbourne, and one from San Francisco to Sydney. But these were short-lived, for though they gave fair outward service for mails and passengers they gave no regular return service.

American services gave the British more competition on their own run, but they did for a while attempt some diversion of Australian commerce with Europe to a route that took them nearer U.S.A. Australians had welcomed the gold rush as an irrefutable argument for the establishment of a regular steamship communication with Europe. Two British companies, the Peninsular and Oriental and the Royal Australian Mail, commenced operations in 1852, but their performances did not satisfy Australian demands. Sensitive to imperial neglect and the inadequacy of British firms some Australians turned towards America. From 1853 the eastern Australian states were generally in favour of a second line of European communications, via the Pacific and U.S.A., and some even gave the alternative route first preference. Americans in Australia, especially Train and Adams & Co., encouraged this sentiment and sought to give it publicity in America.

Half a dozen American steamships had come to Australia as emigrant carriers in 1852-3, and these created a favourable impression, two of them, the *Sir John Harvey* and the *City of Norfolk*, passing into regular interstate service between Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. The first serious attempt at a regular Pacific service was that of the Australian Steamship Company founded at New York in February 1853 with an original capital of \$300,000 and the power to increase to \$4 million. The company was confident of success and hoped to carry passengers and specie from Sydney to Panama in 38 days, and to England in 55 days. The *Golden Age*, the pioneer of the fleet and a regular show boat—3,000 tons displacement—reached Melbourne on 14 February 1854 after a record passage of 49 days from Liverpool. After several interstate trips she left Sydney for Panama in May with 178 passengers and 10,000 oz. of gold dust. Even with a delay of six days at Tahiti she reached Panama in the scheduled 38 days. But the excursion was not followed up. Running costs proved too high and to make matters worse the English Post Office refused payment for the mail taken.

When the P. and O. service broke down in 1856 an American, R. W. Cameron, proposed a monthly line of steamships from Sydney to Panama, offering to convey mails between New York and Australia in 50 days and between Great Britain and Australia in 60 days. The capital of £500,000 was to be jointly subscribed in England, U.S.A., and Australia.⁴³ The Melbourne Chamber of Commerce

43. Enclosure in Duplicate Despatch no. 82, 19 June, 1855 (Pub. Library of Victoria).

were in favour of the contract being thrown open to 'public competition, not only of English companies but of those of the United States, and the Continent.'⁴⁴ But Hotham opposed a foreign contract in war-time. The British government gave the contract to a British company which worked the old P. and O. route from England, to the continued dissatisfaction of Melbourne and Sydney.

After 1857, with the shrinkage of the Australian market, the disappearance of the larger American firms from Sydney and Melbourne, and the failure to establish a return trade, American interest in steam communication in the South Pacific waned and only slowly recovered after the opening of the Union Pacific Railroad.

Very little can be said about the export of Australian goods to America. For the American trading relations with Australia during the gold rush period were extremely ill-balanced; there was almost no return trade. Much of this failure to exploit Australian products seems to have been due to the high protective tariff in the United States, 30% on wool at this period. Americans interested in the Australian trade agitated at home for a reduction of duties on wool and hides, but with so little success that they seem to have given up the effort in a few years. Most American ships sought an indirect way home via Calcutta and Europe rather than across the Pacific. Only between N.S.W. and California was there a small regular export of Australian goods. The small trade in Newcastle coal that had sprung up in 1849 continued, the U.S.A. taking shipments of 2-3,000 tons a year till 1858.⁴⁵ Coal provided a cheap ballast cargo for the return run to California, and coal was a scarce commodity in the Pacific. This coal trade experienced a rapid increase from 1859 when the extension of American steamship services to the Pacific caused a strong demand for Australian soft coals at San Francisco for domestic fuel and industrial purposes. Exports rose from 13,736 tons in two years 1859-1860 to almost 80,000 tons a year by 1870. Small shipments of oil shale and pig iron sometimes accompanied the coal.

Of the more valuable Australian exports, wool and gold, very little went to the U.S.A. A small sample of wool and hides went from Melbourne in 1853. Slightly larger shipments went from Sydney in 1855 and 1859, and from Adelaide in 1865 and 1869. Only in 1870, with the opening of the Pacific steam route, was Australian wool sent direct in large and regular quantities.

In 1853 American shippers made a serious bid for only one Australian product, gold. American firms, particularly Adams and Co.,

44. *ibid.* no. 50, 1855.

45. Consequently, an American consulate was established at Newcastle in 1853.

advertised regularly the advantages of their services via U.S.A., but with small success. Only 29,277 oz. of gold dust and £44,000 in specie were shipped via America in the two years 1853-1854.⁴⁶ After 1854 Americans seem to have concentrated more on competing with the English services on the direct route than on diverting Australian gold to a Pacific course. G. F. Train and Co. became agents for the Liverpool White Star Line in 1854 and thus secured large commissions for their English service; while Adams and Co. transferred their patronage from American packets to the P. and O. Line in September 1854. Only £13,844 in gold dust and specie left Australia for U.S.A. in the fifteen years from 1856 to 1870. In no other portion of the Australian trade was the British monopoly more marked than in gold.

Commercial contacts between Australia and the United States have always been handicapped by the inevitable inability of Australia to reach even an approximate trade balance. Nevertheless, the contacts established during the gold rush remained when the first excitement had died down. Small American communities developed in the capital cities, and consular representation was steadily extended from its original base at Sydney to the other colonies.⁴⁷ The Australian cities, at first Melbourne and Sydney only, then Adelaide, Hobart and Brisbane, became regular markets for American goods. Through the years following the gold rush this trade suffered some shrinkage; from 10·4% of the Victorian market in 1853 the share of the United States had dropped to about 5% by 1860. The 'sixties also saw the elimination of the flour and provisions trade, the lessening of the timber traffic, and the emergence of oil and machinery as the chief commercial items. Even so, the United States remained the greatest supplier of Australia after Great Britain.

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46. Based on export figures as given in the *Argus*, 1853-4.

47. The speed with which the American consular service adjusted itself to fresh developments in American trade is remarkable. The reports of the American consuls in Australia must contain a great deal of useful information on the development of Australian-American relations, and on the social and economic development of Australia generally; but none of these reports seem to be available in print before the last decade of the nineteenth century, and very little of the extensive literature on the U.S. consular service is as yet available in Australian libraries.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE VICTORIAN PARLIAMENT, 1856-1881

Victoria's first parliament met on 21 November, 1856:

The day was proclaimed a holiday; the soldiers of the 41st Regiment, the Volunteer Artillery and the Rifles were drawn out. Flags and banners streamed from the houses in the line of procession, bands enlivened the scene. The Corporation headed by the Mayor, the Judges in their robes, the Town Councillors in their uniforms, the Foreign Consuls looking as like Ambassadors as they could contrive to do, and the Governor accompanied by a staff and escorted by volunteer cavalry arrived at a Chamber crowded with ladies.¹

The colony took over its own government, with high hopes and great plans for the future, and, in the scheme of making Victoria a southern paradise, parliament was to take a worthy place as the accredited instrument of the community in settling the dislocation which had accompanied the gold rushes and in planning for the future.

Victoria did not face an acute racial problem at the beginning of her career of self-government, nor did she have an hereditary aristocracy, a state church or workhouses. It is false, however, to simplify the environment and give the impression that the task facing her responsible ministers was an easy one. The main work was to turn the gold rushes 'to the best account nationally'—to hold the population which the rushes had brought, and here the question of land distribution and the squatters' tenure was a pressing one. A no less important task was that of safely launching responsible government and guiding the delicate parliamentary machinery. The period 1856-1881 was one of experiment and development in these spheres. An attempt was made to open the lands of the colony under the system of free selection and to establish manufactures by the establishment of protection. Important constitutional changes were made in the franchise, distribution and membership of the Legislative Assembly in 1857, 1858 and 1876 and of the Legislative Council in 1869 and 1881.

In this period, therefore, it is important to know from which sections of society the members of parliament were drawn and thus to get a clue to their position in the clash of economic interests which the gold rushes had heightened. Were the majority squatters or merchants? What was the proportion of professional men? Were the miners and the city workers represented? Was there a line of economic division between the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council? Were the members mostly 'ancient colonists'?

1. Sir C. G. Duffy, *My Life in Two Hemispheres*, ii, 160.

2. T. T. A'Beckett, *Gold and the Government* (1851), p. 4 (Pub. Lib. Vic., Vic. Pamphlets, xxiii, no. 7).

who had settled in Victoria in the 'thirties or 'forties? Was the composition of parliament changed very much by the various liberal reforms of the period? One question that is particularly interesting concerns the membership of the council, for the general contemporary impression was that the council represented the 'mere upper crust of wealth'³ and that it was the stronghold of big business, landowning and squatter interests.

In an attempt to suggest answers for these and similar questions a survey of the first general election is given as a background to a study of the membership of the 1856 assembly. A similar analysis of the 1881 assembly is then included, followed by a survey of the membership of the Legislative Council from 1856-1881.

The Elections of 1856

The general election of 1856 is of interest not only because it saw the election of the first Victorian parliament, but also because it witnessed the trial of the method of secret ballot in the choice of the two elected houses—the council of 30 and the assembly of 60 members.

This choice was narrowed by a property qualification for members of both houses. It was necessary for members of the council to possess a freehold of the capital value of £5,000 or of the annual value of £500, and for members of the assembly to possess a freehold of the capital value of £2,000 or of the annual value of £200.

The franchise was also a restricted one. Voters for both houses must be 21, natural born or naturalized for 3 years and must have lived in Victoria for one year. The council franchise was restricted to persons possessing freehold estate in the electoral province valued at £1,000 or £100 annual value, or a leasehold of five years' duration in the province of £100 annual value, or persons residing in the province and being graduates of any university in the British dominions, or barristers, solicitors, medical practitioners, officiating ministers or officers or retired officers of the land or sea forces. The assembly franchise might be exercised by persons possessing freehold estate in the electoral district valued at £50, or of £5 annual value, or leasehold in the district valued at £10 annual value, or being householders occupying premises of £10 annual value, or having permissive occupancy of crown lands for which payment was made to the crown, or persons receiving a salary of £100 per annum.

The council elections took place in August and September, 1856, five members being chosen from each of six electoral provinces. There were about 47 candidates and this small number was not very well distributed among the provinces. In two provinces there were

3. H. J. Wrixon, *Democracy in Australia* (1868), p. 13. (Vic. Pamphlets, lxxvi, no. 6).

only six candidates, while in the Central Province there were ten. Of the 10,775 citizens qualified to vote, only 5247 exercised the privilege. The elections were given little notice in the Melbourne press and they were eclipsed by the assembly elections which began in Melbourne on 23 September. The fact that the council elections preceded those for the assembly seemed to the liberal press to suggest a deep laid plot on the part of the landowning and squatting classes, who had framed the constitution, to give their members a chance to stand for the assembly if they failed for the council. Five defeated council candidates did stand for the assembly and of these, three were elected—T. H. Fellows, J. T. Smith and Colonel W. A. D. Anderson.

A great deal of organization was necessary at this first general election and the district registrars had a busy time compiling the electoral rolls and publishing them in the local newspapers. Courts of Revision decided disputed cases—the most knotty problem being the right of electors to vote when they had changed the locality without affecting the value of their qualification. In the unstable society of the 'fifties this was a very real question. Returning officers⁴ were appointed to each of the 37 districts into which the state had been divided for purposes of the assembly elections. The distribution of seats among these districts was very unequal and the growth of the population in the mining districts had changed the whole situation. As one candidate explained in an election speech:

When the Constitution Bill was sent home, Ballarat was looked upon as an insignificant place.⁵

The number of voters per seat ranged from

3693	in the Ovens district	to	127	in the Colac district.
3348	South Grant	135	Wimmera	
2528	Talbot	146	Murray	
2232	Sandhurst Boroughs	239	Polwarth, Ripon, Hampden and South Grenville.	

Of these 37 districts, 20 were single member constituencies, 14 elected 2 members, 1 elected 3 members, while Geelong had 4 and Melbourne 5 representatives.

The order of proceedings was as follows: the issue of writs, nomination day, the poll and then the return of writs. While the last feature, the return of writs, was fixed for 6 November for the whole colony, the dates for the other events varied from district to district and the polling days were spread over the period from 23 September to 24 October.⁶ As the date of nomination in 24 districts followed

4. It is interesting to note that of these 37 officers, at least 23 had direct squatting interests.

5. J. B. Humffray, reported in *The Ballarat Star*, 4 Oct., 1856.

6. In Section 7 of the Electoral Amendment Act of 1876, it was enacted that 'at every general election all elections shall take place on the same day,' and this provision first came into operation in the general election of 1877.

the polling day for Melbourne and five suburban districts, it was not surprising that members defeated in one district should stand for another. The press came to refer to this process as the 'Consolation Stakes.' John O'Shanassy was elected for two districts—Melbourne and Kilmore—and when he resigned his Melbourne seat another election was held to fill the vacancy. Vincent Pyke stood for two districts simultaneously—Castlemaine Boroughs and Talbot—and was elected for the former. Four candidates—Snodgrass, Blair, Greeves and McCulloch—who were unsuccessful in their first district were later elected for Anglesey, Talbot, East Bourke, and Wimmera respectively. Of the members elected during the session, 1856-1859, to fill vacancies created by the resignation of members, one, H. S. Chapman, had stood twice during the general elections and once during the sessional elections before his final success at St. Kilda. Three other sessional members had stood twice, and eight others once during the general elections. It is clear, therefore, that of the original members of the assembly, two stood for two constituencies simultaneously, while four were elected in their second district. Of the 26 sessional members,⁷ 11 had stood at the general elections. These facts relate to the general shortage of candidates, and the property qualification must here have exerted a restrictive influence. Few men were as fortunate as Charles Gavan Duffy, for whom a qualification fund was organized and sufficient money raised to buy a freehold which would qualify him for either house. Many professional men would not be in possession of the required amount of land. Mary Stawell writes:

Soon after our marriage there was a general election and William stood for Melbourne. It was necessary then to have a qualification of £2000 invested in land, but William had been so engrossed in his official work that he had not bought the land and when the election drew near he knew something must be done⁸ and she goes on to describe how she and her husband chose their land.

The chance distribution of candidates which was noted in the council elections was even more noticeable in those for the assembly. While twelve members ranged themselves in opposition for the two seats in the Talbot district, eight others were unopposed—Foster at Williamstown, G. S. W. Horne at Warrnambool, Murphy at Murray Boroughs, Lalor at North Grenville, Ed. Henty at Normanby, John King at Gippsland, and Childers and D. A. Hughes at Portland.

There was some difference of opinion on the operation of the secret ballot. In the colony itself the general feeling was one of approval. *The Age* declared after the first council election: 'As

7. This figure includes O'Shanassy's successor in the Melbourne seat; thus the total for all members is 85.

8. Mary Stawell, *My Recollections*, p. 132.

our first experiment of the ballot, it has immovably established the wisdom of that mode of election.⁹ On the other hand, English reaction was not very favourable. *The Times* gave most of its notice to the trial by reprinting adverse reports, such as that from the *Adelaide Weekly Despatch*: 'The uniform testimony of advocates both in Victoria and Tasmania have shown it . . . to be a dead failure.'¹⁰ A similar reluctance to accept its wide application may be seen in the writings of Anthony Trollope, who was struck, however, by the general popularity of the method while he was touring the colonies.

I give my evidence unwillingly, because I myself very much dislike the ballot for English use, and believe that a mistake is made by those who argue that because it suits the colonies, therefore it will suit ourselves. With us the object is secrecy, which I think should not be an object, and which I think also will not be obtained. In the colonies, secrecy is not desired, but tranquillity is felt to be a blessing. It is clear that the ballot does assist in producing tranquillity.¹¹

England, however, adopted the ballot and profited by the colonial experience. There is an interesting fragment from a letter written by Hugh Childers to Charles Gavan Duffy in 1872 which may be quoted here. Childers, a member of the first Victorian Legislative Assembly, who had returned to England, was at this time a prominent member of the House of Commons and his advocacy had done much to assist the adoption of the ballot in England.

The ballot question is finally settled, and I heard Forster say an hour ago that we had good security for its working well, as practically the Victoria Ballot had been adopted almost without change. I have scrupulously abstained from blowing our trumpet about this, though I might have done so for the scrutiny clause was my own individual suggestion in 1855-6.¹²

It was not likely that bribery and treating should disappear at once with the introduction of the ballot—indeed, too much was expected of this method—but it did modify the electoral proceedings. Huge public meetings and addresses replaced the house to house canvass to a large extent. For several weeks before the elections, the large halls and the most popular hotels were the settings for such gatherings. The hotels were also quite often the polling places. It is curious to read in the Electoral Act of the measures to be taken against those who carried weapons to the poll and the punishment for wearing cockades and emblems.

One feature of the election which received general comment at the time was the apathy of the mining population, and it seems that many of the miners did not take the trouble to vote. It is, indeed, difficult to assess the influence of the mining population in this period of

9. *Age* (Melbourne), leader, 30 Aug. 1856.

10. *Times*, 13 Jan. 1857.

11. Anthony Trollope, *Australia and New Zealand* (1873), ii., 245.

12. Lieut.-Col. S. Childers, *Life of the Right Hon. Hugh C. E. Childers*, i, 211.

Victorian history. It is probable that their earlier influence declined as mining became capitalized and the digger became a wage earner.

There was a certain amount of local feeling reflected in the choice of candidates, particularly in Geelong whose newspapers reflect a growing jealousy of Melbourne. This localism—based on trade rivalry in the case of Geelong—may be traced to neglected self-interest in the case of Castlemaine and Sandhurst. A series of articles in *The Mount Alexander Mail* attacked Melbourne capitalists for their 'culpable indifference to everything but a sordid lust of gain';¹³ the main reason for this outburst was the failure of the government to provide these northern townships with railway communication. The suggestion was then made that the Adelaide route for supplies down the Murray should be encouraged, as a little healthy rivalry might agitate the 'mercantile mind of Melbourne'¹⁴ to the advantage of Castlemaine and Sandhurst.

The absence of party organization probably accounted for the rather haphazard selection of constituencies, and it is interesting in this connection to notice the different attitude taken up in the two leading Melbourne daily newspapers on the subject of party. *The Age*, realizing that responsible government was essentially party government, looked for the development of organized parties. *The Argus*, on the other hand, tended to look on party as an exploded doctrine: 'We say "Discard party altogether." Its necessity is a fallacy.'¹⁵ In the absence of organized parties, the influence of the press, and of 'our commercial Parliament,' the Chamber of Commerce was evident. *The Age* at this time was the most politically active newspaper in Melbourne and it was formulating its doctrine of the position of the press in the life of the community.

The Press and the Parliament are correlative institutions in every civilized community; and as regards their intrinsic importance or overshadowing influence for good or for evil, they occupy a co-ordinate position.¹⁶

The Chamber of Commerce was, of course, mainly concerned with the interest of Melbourne merchants and we find some anxiety in the president's address at the annual meeting of 1856.

I do hope that our legislators will bear in mind that in this great colony, there are other interests to legislate for besides the admittedly great one of gold; there is nothing, in my opinion, likely to retard the material progress of this colony so much as class legislation.¹⁷

Some of this concern was unnecessary for the following analysis of the occupations of the members of the assembly in 1856 shows that the strong merchant representation was some safeguard for com-

13. *Mount Alexander Mail*, leader, 15 Apr., 1856. 14. *ibid.*, 23 May, 1856.

15. *Argus* (Melbourne), leader, 21 Oct., 1856.

16. *Age*, leader, 12 June, 1856.

17. *Yearly Annual Report of the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce* (1856), p. 5 (Vic. Pamphlets, xviii).

mercial interest. Nor is evidence wanting for the pressure brought to bear by the Chamber of Commerce through those of its number who were members of the parliament.

Occupations of Members of the 1856 Assembly

<i>Professional:</i>		<i>Trading:</i>	
Barristers, solicitors, etc.	16	Merchants, warehousemen, etc.	23
Surgeons and physicians	4	Agents	3
Engineers, surveyors	3	Auctioneers	1
Journalists	3	<i>Manufacturing:</i>	
<i>Landed and Pastoral:</i>		Owner of a foundry	1
Pastoral tenants	18	<i>Mining:</i>	
Landowners	5	Digger (Lalor, a government	
City property (classified here		officer in 1856)	1
for lack of detailed informa-			
tion)	3		
Farmers	4		
			<i>Total</i> 85
			(This figure includes
			sessional members)

The occupation given is that which the member pursued at the date of his election. It was not always easy to decide how this occupation should be given—in several cases a member would be both pastoral tenant and merchant, e.g., D. S. Campbell or William Rutledge, or a professional man might devote a great deal of attention to pastoral pursuits. The decision had, therefore, to be made as to the occupation to which they attached greater importance. As a rule the information which could be relied on was very slight. Parliament itself does not seem to have kept any detailed record of its members, nor has it preserved the nomination forms on which the occupation of members would be inscribed. This may also be said of the Electoral Office. The directories which cover the 'fifties are mainly Melbourne directories and while they give reliable, if limited, information about Melbourne men, the country directories are few and far between. It is not until the late 'sixties that Post Office directories of Victoria cover the country districts with the same attention. Bradshaw's *Guide to Victoria* is a reliable source, but here, as in so many directories, the occupation is given as 'gentleman' when the member concerned is a landowner or squatter, The *Government Gazette* has a very good index, however, and it is often the happy field of chance findings. Newspapers of the time were very numerous—well over forty were issued in Victoria between the years 1856 and 1859—but the files kept at the Melbourne Public Library are very incomplete except in the case of the larger dailies. The lack of knowledge about men of the 'fifties is in many cases due to the rapid change and movement from one part of the country to the other, if not from state to state.

Another difficulty is that of tracing men with common names, such as John King, John Bell, or John Johnson, and the lack of any consistent policy in directories of appending the titles M.L.A. or M.L.C. These difficulties were minimised to some extent in the case of the first assembly by the declaration of property qualification. From this the district in which the member owned land could be traced, but here there was no uniformity in the method of stating the qualification. Some members named their estates and gave some information as to the date at which they were bought, while others merely noted the section of the allotment, the parish and the county.

It was not difficult to find a considerable amount of information about the well known members—the Hentys, Dr. Greeves, Charles Gavan Duffy, Hugh Childers, C. H. Ebdon, Richard Heales, John O'Shanassy, William Rutledge, Alexander Thomson, J. B. Were—but even in the case of some well-known individuals details are almost negligible. One such man is J. B. Humffray. Notorious at the time of the Eureka Stockade, his later history and his interests are a mystery. The occupation of some members was found by chance. C. J. Perry's name appeared in the *Government Gazette* in connection with the dissolution of a partnership, while the life history of Alexander Fyfe was given to me by one of his descendants. In many cases, however, there is no detail as to date of birth, family or other items of importance.

The date of arrival of members is far more complete, and of the 81 members of the assembly who have been traced

17 arrived in the 'thirties

28 arrived in the 'forties

36 arrived in the 'fifties.

Little can be said about the educational qualification of the members. Without including those who received a legal training, it is probable that there were 10 university men in the assembly. The family background in England or in the colony is generally a mystery, but from knowledge of some 30 most prominent members one may say that their fathers ranged from clergymen and professional men to army officers, landed gentry, small farmers, merchants, printers, schoolmasters, builders, shopkeepers and ironmongers.

It must always be remembered that the first assembly was unique for it was the only one elected under a property qualification or with a limited suffrage. The main demands of the numerous nebulous reform associations which sprang up at the time of the general election had been Chartist in outline, and perhaps the two most constant points in their programmes were the abolition of the property qualification for members and the establishment of universal manhood suffrage. At the same time there was a great cry for redistribu-

tion of seats and in the first parliament these three demands were answered.

Property qualifications for members of the assembly were abolished in August, 1857; manhood suffrage followed in November of the same year, while redistribution, with an increase in the number of members from 60 to 78, was carried out in December, 1858. Considerable excitement attended the passage of these measures, and in the diary of a recent arrival, John Bonar, we find the following entry for 8 June, 1858:

Strange proceedings in Melbourne about the Reform Bill. Torchlight procession, Marseillaise sung, and the National Anthem refused. They had better not reduce the troops here at present.¹⁸

The work of the first parliament was thus of a preparatory nature. It adapted the constitution to meet new circumstances and it ensured that the assembly would be more in touch with popular needs and demands. A further increase of members was made in 1876 when the number was raised to 86. Another Chartist demand, payment of members, was established permanently for the assembly members in 1878, despite the opposition of those who declared that it brought into parliament needy men whose only interest was to continue as members.

The 1881 assembly was therefore elected by a wider group of voters than that of 1856 had been, and the members did not need to possess any property qualification. An attempt had been made to ensure a certain amount of equality in electoral districts. The society represented had also changed and these changes are reflected in the analysis.

Occupations of Members of the 1881 Assembly

<i>Professional:</i>		<i>Manufacturing:</i>	
Barristers, solicitors, etc.	15	Owner of a sawmill	1
Physician	1	Saddler	1
Engineers, surveyors	4	Brewer	1
Journalists	5	Builder	1
Chemists and druggists	4	Watchmakers and jewellers . .	2
Music teacher	1		
<i>Landed and pastoral:</i>		<i>Mining:</i>	
Farmers	13	Directors and managers of	
Pastoral tenants	8	companies	3
Market gardeners	2	Other general mining interests	4
Nurseryman	1		
<i>Trading</i>		<i>Governmental:</i>	
Merchants and warehousemen	8	Shire secretary	1
Shop- and storekeepers	4	<i>Unclassified, Peter Lalor (gentle-</i>	
Hotelkeepers	4	man)	1
Bankers, brokers, financial			
agents	14		
		<i>Total</i>	99
		(including sessional members)	

18. *Vic. Historical Magazine*, xii, 102.

There is more subdivision and specialisation of occupation. This may simply be due to the fact that it was easier in some ways to find out more about the later group of members. This ease does not come from the increase of official information, but rather from the fact that there were more and wider directories, more 'Men of the Time' series and Victorian Cyclopaedias. Members beginning their parliamentary career at that date can, in some cases, be remembered by the retired parliamentary officials of to-day. Society also had become more stable. Manufacturing and capitalist mining have developed; the number and proportion of pastoral tenants has declined.

In 1856 there was a fluidity and movement in the colony which made it difficult to decide what occupation a member pursued at the date of his election. In 1881 there is a certain stability in economic interests. The merchants and bankers have put their money into land and the squatters have converted a great part of their runs into freehold. The days of the Hentys and the Rutledges in the west have almost gone. No longer do pastoralists import their own supplies and export their own products in their own ships. No longer do men get money at the diggings, buy a store in the neighbouring township and then settle on a farm, all within the space of a few months. Stability has come in place of rapid change, and with increased security there is less spectacular increase of wealth.

Thus over the period 1856-1881 the assembly adjusted its constitution to the needs of the time. Its membership is middle class throughout and in 1881 many of its members come from what we might call the 'petty bourgeoisie.'

The Legislative Council

Meanwhile the indissoluble council of 30 had continued with the same number of members. A Reform Act of 1869 reduced the property qualification from freehold of £5,000 capital value to £2,500, with a corresponding reduction in annual value. The elector's qualification had been reduced from freehold of a capital value of £1,000 or £100 annual value, to an annual value of £50.

These changes, however, had not brought more peaceful relations with the more representative assembly. The difficulty of working with two elected houses had been felt over the question of protection and the Darling grant in the 'sixties, and similar strained relations developed in the 'seventies over the question of payment of members. In their adaptation of English institutions to a different society, the colonists had, in some cases, to work out their own solutions.

The position for example of the Council towards the Assembly differed so widely from the mutual relations which centuries have confirmed between the House of Lords and the House of Commons that the Imperial Precedents furnished no guide.¹⁹

19. Pub. Lib. Vic., Dup. Despatches. Barkly to Labouchere, 28 Aug., 1857.

It was in the bitter working out of these new relationships that the council came to be regarded as a conservative stronghold of the land-owners and pastoralists, the 'Ancient Colonists' who were said to be representative of the pre-gold rush era. There was a certain measure of truth in this charge of 'Old Colonialism.' A survey of the dates of arrival in Victoria of the members of the council (1856-1881) shows that a considerable number were colonists who came to Victoria before the gold rushes.

Of the 94 members, 77 have been traced, and of these

25 arrived in the 'thirties
27 arrived in the 'forties
24 arrived in the 'fifties
1 arrived in the 'sixties.

Some of its members, indeed, were die-hard conservatives who viewed the changes in the constitution as regrettable. Such a one is William Campbell (M.L.C. 1862-1882) who declared in a farewell address to the electors of the North West Province:

The Imperial Parliament gave us a good sound constitution but unfortunately gave us also a power to alter it, under which power we have abolished the qualification of voters to the Assembly and lowered that of the voters of the Legislative Council from £100 to £10. I think these evil changes were unnecessary, as the agitators for reform were only exciting the people against the owners of property. I felt it my duty to oppose that downward course.²⁰

It is not at all possible that this conservatism was restricted to members of the council. There were liberal members of the council just as there were conservative members of the assembly. The movement of members from one house to the other is an indication that no fixed line must be drawn between them. Between 1856 and 1881 18 members went from the assembly to the council, while 11 members who had sat in the council were elected for the assembly. Four of these members, G. S. Coppin, T. H. Fellows, J. O'Shanassy and W. Wilson, had previously moved from the assembly to the council. Thus 25 members in a total of 94 had changed their position, and this change was mostly in the direction of the council. Nor is it necessary to subscribe wholeheartedly to the view put forward by James Campbell in 1878 (in 1882 he became a member of the council):

The Upper House is composed almost exclusively of wealthy men and in them there is a tendency to pursue proud arrogance; the Lower House has a large percentage of needy men who feel their poverty and return the arrogance of the Upper House with jealous envy and a determination to 'take it down a peg or two' whenever they get the chance.²¹

20. W. Campbell, *Farewell Address to Electors of N.W. Province* (1882), p. 7. (Vic. Pub. Lib., Polit. Economy Pamphlets, no. ci.)

21. J. Campbell, *A Few Words on Constitution and Electoral Reform* (1878), p. 6, (Vic. Pamphlets, cxiv, no. 7.)

At all events, in the struggles between the houses it became a favourite democratic strategy to attack the council as the stronghold of the wealthy classes which stood in the way of the achievement of the rights of the people.

Several rather conservative writers of Victorian history have done their best to portray the council in a very favourable light. H. G. Turner praises the conduct of the council in the 1864-5 deadlock, and writes²² of the Hansard volume for that session:

Any resolute investigator venturing into this wilderness of words cannot but be struck with the moderation and dignity of tone of the speeches on constitutional subjects by the majority of the members of the Council, as compared with those of the Assembly. An attitude of serene assurance in their rights saved them from any display of temper but the calm passivity of their resistance intensified the anger of the Assembly until passion supplanted judgment.

G. W. Rusden has attempted to show²³ that its membership was not such as was often asserted by its opponents:

It was customary for its enemies to brand the Council as a selfish body representing only interests of squatters and landowners, but though it contained in 1856 8 pastoral tenants of the Crown, the number in the House rapidly diminished.

This statement needs careful consideration for it is difficult to avoid the view that the council was, in 1856, and remained for 20 years the stronghold of the squatters. Using the assessment lists in the *Government Gazettes* as to the date and occupancy of runs the following analysis has been made of the membership in 1856.

Composition of the Legislative Council, 1856

<i>Professional:</i>		Landowner		1
Solicitor	1	<i>Trading:</i>		
Doctor	1	Wine and spirits merchants . .		3
Editor	1	General importers, warehouse-		
<i>Pastoral and Landed:</i>		men, general merchants . .		8
Pastoral tenants	15			

Of those not classified as pastoral tenants, 6 had previously been so, and of this 6, 4 were to become pastoral tenants in the future, as well as one other member who had not previously held a pastoral licence.

It is obvious that Rusden's statement of the number in the house in 1856 is most misleading, and it is hard to avoid the impression that his pro-squatting bias led him to overlook facts. Nor is this an exhaustive method of showing the influence of the pastoral tenants, because the merchants and bankers of the colony, although not always pastoral tenants themselves, were closely allied in interest. There were many variations in the capitalist organization of squatting

22. H. G. Turner, *History of the Colony of Victoria*, ii, 125.

23. G. W. Rusden, *History of Australia*, iii, 268.

at the time. Sometimes it was a one-man venture, sometimes a partnership.²⁴ Again, a squatter and a city merchant would join forces under varying conditions.²⁵ One method by which British capital was invested was through the organization of small companies with a representative in the colony. Such a company was the Clyde Company, of which George Russell was the representative in Victoria. His views on the system may be read in his narrative:²⁶

Although the Clyde Company turned out successful as an investment, I always considered that I would have been better off if I had not been connected with it, that if I had bestowed the same care and attention on a station of my own, I would have come off better in the end; and that I would have had more satisfaction in working on my own account than I had in working for men who were residing in Scotland, who had no colonial experience of country matters, and who did not have any desire to form a permanent establishment in the colony, but looked solely to getting as great a return for the money they had invested as possible.

Several Australian companies were organized and the activities of the squatters were not confined to one state, numbers of them holding leases in New South Wales and Queensland. Most of them grazed sheep, there were a few cattle stations, but very little mixed farming. In the colony generally there was a marked antipathy between farmers and pastoralists and little appreciation that their activities could be combined in many areas.

Rusden's next contention, that the 'number in the house rapidly diminished,' is not borne out by evidence. The basis of the statement—that there were '8 pastoral tenants' is incomplete and in the general fact of diminution Rusden, as clerk of the Legislative Council from 1856-81, had unequalled opportunity for appreciating the fact that the personnel changed very slowly and the percentage of pastoral tenants declined gradually. The council was indissoluble and its method of recruitment after retirement, in rotation, meant a very slow change of membership. The average length of membership for the period 1856-1906 was 9·5 years; the term prescribed by the constitution was 10 years (changed to 6 in 1881) but numbers stood for re-election and some 42% of the members (taken over the longer period 1856-1906) served for periods ranging from 11 to 42 years.

The following survey shows the occupations of members in 1856 and in 1861, 1871 and 1881.

24. W. P. Greene, quoted by Mary Stawell, *op. cit.*, p. 63: 'Still for this country I am in a very limited way and have suffered much from the want of a monied partner—a gentleman asked me to join him . . . in buying a sheep station, but I declined as I had not sufficient confidence in him.'

25. For details, see A. Hart, 'Notes from an Early Diary of Sir Redmond Barry' (*Vic. Hist. Mag.*, xiii, 144).

26. *The Narrative of George Russell*, ed. P. L. Brown (1935), p. 366.

Composition of the Legislative Council, 1856-1881

	1856 (Nov.)	1861 (Feb.)	1871 (April)	1881 (Aug.)
<i>Professional:</i>				
Barristers, solicitors	1	3	4	4
Surgeons, physicians	1	1		
Editor	1			
Actor		1		
<i>Pastoral and Landed:</i>				
City property (classified here for lack of detail)		1	1	
Pastoral tenants	15	14	9 (a)	9 (b)
Farmers		1		2
Landowners (the majority of whom had been pastoral tenants)	1	4	5	10 (c)
<i>Trading:</i>				
Merchants—wine and spirits . . .	3	2		
Importers, warehousemen, general merchants, bankers	8	2	9	3
Brokers				1
Auctioneers		1	1	1
<i>Manufacturing:</i>				
Contractor			1	

Mining:

One pastoral tenant of 1881 was a large mining director.

(a) One of these pastoral tenants was a leaseholder in N.S.W.

(b) Four of these pastoral tenants were leaseholders in N.S.W.

(c) The property valuations of these ten landowners, as shown in the Land Tax Register of 1881, are as follows:

1. £340,111	6. £14,210
2. £60,158	7. £12,807
3. £31,486	8. £12,590
4. £24,506	9. £2,108
5. £19,302	10. £1,812

In addition to this classification it is important to notice that of those not given as pastoral tenants:

in 1861 4 had previously been pastoral tenants, and 1 was to become such
in 1871 13 had previously been pastoral tenants, and 1 was to become such
in 1881 13 had previously been pastoral tenants.

The general conclusion is that while there was a decline in the squatter membership, the general landowning and pastoral interests were strongly represented at the close of the period and this is what Rusden set out to minimise by pointing to a decline in squatter membership.

The men from whom the council was generally recruited—the 'wealthy lower orders' as Higinbotham contemptuously named them

—had become an upper class of wealth. Contemporaries wrote of 'our middle class, as opposed to the mere labourers on the one side and the business class (our upper class) on the other.'²⁷ Many are the references to 'class legislation' and the condemnations of wealth: 'Wealth is the only badge of our aristocracy, but it confers a nobility neither exclusive nor enduring.'²⁸

In 1881 the long talked of reform of the council was provided for in a measure which passed after a certain amount of negotiation between the two houses. It reduced the property qualification of members and electors of the council to a freehold of the annual rateable value of £100 in the case of members, and to a freehold of annual rateable value of £10, or a leasehold originally created for not less than five years, or an occupying tenancy of the rateable annual value of £25, in the case of an elector. The number of members was increased from 30 to 42, and the number of provinces from 6 to 14, while the tenure was reduced from 10 to 6 years.

These analyses do not prove that the council was necessarily anti-democratic or ultra-conservative, but they do show that big business, landowning and pastoral interests were well represented in it, while the assembly was recruited more from the professional, small landowning, manufacturing and trading classes.

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JOY E. MILLS

27. H. J. Wrixon, *Democracy in Australia* (1868), p. 7. (Vic. Pamph., lxxvi, no. 6.)
28. *ibid.*, p. 11.

DOCUMENTS—II

The Manager's Letter-Book, Union Bank, Portland, 1846-54

THE following extracts are taken from a typescript copy of the original letter-book, by permission of the manager of the Union Bank of Australia, Melbourne. The originals were consulted by Noel Learmonth in his study of *The Portland Bay Settlement* (Historical Committee of Portland, 1934), pp. 184-6, but his account of the Portland branch of the bank ends somewhat abruptly in 1851 and fails to indicate the particular value of bankers' correspondence for the history of country districts generally. In most townships, banks were opened before newspapers were established, and the correspondence of the branch managers and the reports of the inspectors provide invaluable commentaries on all aspects of economic and social development. The value of these regular and well-informed reports is enhanced by the fact that alternative sources for the earlier history of country districts are woefully meagre—very few court-house papers have survived, files of early newspapers are often missing or incomplete, and very few collections of family papers are as yet either published or made available by deposit in public libraries. The following extracts indicate the type of material to be found in bankers' letter-books; they are printed in the hope that steps will be taken to preserve such letter-books whenever any bank or other kindred institution decides to dispose of accumulated papers under the growing pressure of 'waste'-paper appeals and A.R.P.

University of Melbourne.

G. F. JAMES

*

18 July 1846: Mr. Fletcher and I arrived here on 30 June after a journey from Geelong of upwards of 200 miles over the most horrible roads you can imagine; he started for Melbourne on 12th, which he expected to reach on 21st.

I confess I was rather pleased with the appearance of the town, which, though small, has a number of excellent brick and stone houses and stores built by men of capital, rather a rarity in most of the mushroom towns of N.S.W. The country for 40 miles back is a thick stringy bark forest, but beyond that the face of the country is completely changed—immense undulating plains, thinly timbered and covered with the richest verdure, but owing to the immense quantity of rain and the richness of the soil, the sheep are in a bad state with foot-rot; since Mr. Boyd was here the country has been all occupied.

16 January 1847: Portland is a shockingly dull place and scarcely any appearance of business; this season of the year is what is called the busy time, but really I am at a loss to discover anything like bustle.

11 February 1847: During the greater part of last week and the beginning of this the wind has been blowing heavily from the S.E. and the two wool vessels

in Portland Bay have been riding very uneasily from the heavy seas running, fortunately without receiving any damage. Portland is by no means in the very best repute as a safe roadstead; the jetty, however, has received considerable injury from the effects of the gale.

8 May 1847: A branch of the Port Phillip Savings Bank¹ will shortly be established here. . . . I have no doubt that it will be very beneficial to the working classes here and will enable them to save for the purpose of investing in land and building. In Portland, mechanics and laborers are very scarce indeed and the respectable community are anxious for better tenements. Stone and materials for bricks are in abundance but there is not a quarryman in Portland and only one brickmaker. In fact it is almost impossible to get any work done.

The whaling season has commenced; one vessel from Hobart Town has taken up her berth and 2 more are expected, but hitherto no fish.

The winter has set in very early; for the last 14 days the weather has been very cold and wet and the roads into the interior are in a shocking condition; business is at a complete stand and will remain so for several months.

2 September 1847: This has been the wettest season ever known in the Portland Bay district, and rivers and creeks have been and still are very much flooded; communication with the interior has almost ceased from the impassable state of the roads and rivers. The mortality of the lambs has been fearful—this will be a poor season for the settlers if the wool market does not improve.

30 October 1847: There is not a great deal doing at present; all the settlers are busy shearing; several have completed their clip and are only waiting until the roads and rivers are practicable for drays to fetch the wool into Portland.

The merchants and settlers are all in a very despondent mood at the late deplorable accounts of the June wool sales. Many of the settlers who obtained an advance of 1/- will have to refund on an average about £3 per bale, and the merchants who were buying freely from 1/- to 1/2½ will lose considerably.

I wish you could let me have a bank clock; we have to guess at the time here.

— December 1847: The town cannot extend to the S. owing to the lagoon, the sea bounds it in the E. and the forest on the W. It has therefore no alternative but to extend to the N. Since I have been here upwards of 30 houses have been built and more about to be commenced, and still the cry is for more buildings . . . the streets have rapidly filled up since you were here, and I have no hesitation in saying that Portland will make rapid advances.

26 February 1848: The news from London is frightful; what with the failures and the low price of wool, we must have great distress within the colonies and that very soon, as the merchants will immediately demand the settlers to refund the losses on their last years advances.

10 June 1848: Since my return from Melbourne I was unfortunate enough to cash an order on Wm. Rutledge & Co., Port Fairy, altered from £2 to £12. Detecting it immediately after, I made a search for the man and asked him to return the money, which he refused to do, and in consequence I handed him over to the watch-house. Ascertaining that he had deposited part of the money with a publican I obtained £4/1/- of it and the order itself is worth £2. He has been committed to take his trial in Melbourne and I expect to be subpoenaed there to prosecute next month [see also 16 August 1848, 23 May 1849].

Forgeries and altered cheques and orders are very prevalent in this district, several are now in circulation. We are so far from a criminal court, 260 miles, that all crimes are overlooked and the sufferers put up with their losses rather than have the annoyance and expense of going to Melbourne; one gentleman near the

1. Trustees were gazetted on 8 May; the bank opened on 1 January 1848 (*Learmonth, Portland Bay Settlement*, p. 186).

border has been actually obliged to ride nearly 2,000 miles to prosecute in a case, twice to Portland and twice to Melbourne. In my case I would gladly have said nothing more about it, but the man bullied and dared me before several persons, and if I had allowed him to escape he would, no doubt, have continued his practices when he saw he could do so with impunity. I am afraid I shall have a very disagreeable solitary journey and fully expect all the rivers will be flooded by the time I start. It is a disgrace to the government that there should be only one criminal court for such an immense extent of country as the Port Phillip District. When the long-talked of separation is granted it is to be hoped that the 'far West' will not be left in its present neglected condition.

16 August 1848: I started for Geelong on horseback on 9 July and returned to Portland on the 25th—16 days in all, having ridden a distance of 420 miles in 11 days, fortunately having attained my object, the man having been convicted and sentenced to 5 years on the roads.²

We are still very much in want of labour for the district; Melbourne and Geelong seem to be absorbing all the emigrants. Wages with them are about £18; here the current wage on stations is still £30. I fully expect that a considerable portion of the wool of this district will go to Geelong this season as the settlers are compelled to go there for men (none having been sent here), and when there they will no doubt arrange about their clip.

19 February 1849: I expect some of the Pentonvillian gentry which we are anxiously expecting to the number of 130 will some night for pastime cut my throat and clear out the bank; our constabulary force consists of four—about a mouthful to each.

22 February 1849: Sixty Pentonvillians were landed to-day and 70 more are hourly expected. They have already commenced their freaks by a few brawls with the inhabitants; they appear a determined set and not likely to be daunted by trifles.

14 March 1849: Out of 133 Pentonvillians 110 have been engaged. We shall be very glad to have a batch of respectable, free emigrants, but we are too far from the seat of government to have any attention paid to our prayers.

5 April 1849: The mail from Portland to Melbourne was again robbed about the 25th ulto. Fortunately my remittances to Melbourne and Geelong were only about £33, which will be all recovered shortly. Wages are very much reduced in this district; a large number of men are travelling about the country out of employment and it is feared that mails will be very frequently waylaid during the winter.

23 May 1849: In a late letter from our secretary he has been giving extracts from a letter of mine dated 3 July to the Colonial Office complaining of the inconvenience of the want of a circuit court, whereby the public was in cases of prosecution obliged to go to Melbourne at great expense. The letter has been forwarded to the Governor of N.S.W.³ I hope something will be done but am not very sanguine. Scarcely a vessel goes to Melbourne without a batch of prisoners; this week eight have been sent up. I am afraid I shall yet be subpoenaed to give evidence about the last mail robbery. I use every means to keep out of such disagreeable journeys and allow the presenters of forgeries to walk off as I consider it a saving of £12 or £15 travelling expenses.

20 October 1849: In writing to London lately, I made a request that our directors would authorize a sum of £20 to £25 for one year as a subscription fund to assist in the erection of bridges undertaken by private parties in this district.

2. There is a bare mention of conviction and sentence in *The Melbourne Argus*, 17 and 21 July, 1848.

3. See *Historical Records of Australia*, I, xxvi, 783, for this correspondence.

There will be a good deal of building in Portland this summer; £2,000 will be expended in the erection of a custom house and gaol wall, and £500 is on the estimates for 1850 for a watch-house. There are several stone buildings in progress and a considerable amount of landed property has changed hands.

14 November 1849: The wool is now being brought into town, as yet very slowly, our rivers still being almost too deep for drays. We are in hopes that next year 3 or 4 bridges will be erected over the Wannon, Glenelg and Smoky rivers, as the government has offered a little *assistance*, provided the public will raise sufficient funds to complete them. The tax upon the settlers who have stations near the few crossing places over these rivers is very considerable from the innumerable accidents happening to men, bullocks and produce, and the difficulty experienced by settlers in getting their produce to Portland has had a tendency to divert them to other places.

The Portland Bay wools have vastly improved since labour has been more abundant, the settlers being more enabled to bestow more attention to the getting it up.

19 September 1850: Both Edward and Frank Henty propose building stone houses immediately and as there is an abundance of stone within $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the town any buildings hereafter will be built of that material, as the inhabitants find that stone is almost as cheap as brick or wood. Builders' work is much cheaper than formerly, so many masons from Melbourne having broken down the old extortionate rates and many more will be glad to come. The foundations of several houses have been dug and there is a prospect of abundance of employment during the summer. The Building Society is also lending its influence towards the extension of the town.

11 October 1850: The town of Portland is as large again as when you were here in 1846. Enclosed you have a copy of the Presbyterian Magazine containing a historical notice of Portland Bay written by a resident; the continuation I shall forward when published. The account is correct so far as it goes.

5 December 1850: Business is now much brisker, the wool is coming fast into town. I may say that every parcel has been purchased at $1/1$ to $1/2$. Mr. Rider⁴ has again become a purchaser in Geelong . . . nearly all the settlers will be clear of debt with the season's produce.

2 January 1851: The trade in Portland is increasing. We have 5 vessels loading for London direct, and the merchants expect they will have to ship about 1,000 bales to Melbourne for want of tonnage.

23 January 1851: The business in Portland is increasing, and there is every prospect of the branch steadily advancing. The circumstances of the people in the town and district are good and everything from present appearances is in a very healthy state. There is no speculation in this quarter, almost every transaction is legitimate. But lost and stolen cheques are of daily occurrence in this district.

13 February 1851: On the 6th inst. we were visited with a fearfully hot gale of wind accompanied with tremendous bush fires which I regret to say have caused an immense destruction of property. All the small farmers in the neighbourhood of Portland have been burnt out of house and home and in several cases utterly ruined, having lost their crops, houses, fences and livestock. The fire travelled at the rate of 10 miles per hour, consuming everything in its progress. The collector of customs' house, within half a mile of the town, was burnt to the ground within a quarter of an hour and he has lost everything. His wife and family were with the greatest difficulty rescued from the flames. The fire came within 100 yards

4. Thomas Urmson Ryder, one of the most prominent Sydney buyers of Port Phillip wool and stock from 1840 onwards (see *Port Phillip Herald*, 28 July 1840; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 November 1881).

of the town and the greatest alarm was felt for its safety from the burning embers flying over it; if one house had caught fire the whole town would have been in ruins. During the hurricane the thermometer stood at 114° and in the forest numbers of kangaroos and opossums are lying dead from suffocation and scorching. Sad accounts are pouring in from the interior; scarcely a settler but has met with losses of houses, wool-sheds, their winter stores and flocks of sheep from 3,000 downwards, and unless we have rain soon stock will perish in vast numbers. The conflagration, having extended over such an immense tract of country, has utterly deprived them of pasture. . . . The bridges on the roads have also been consumed and unless speedily rebuilt all communication with the interior during the winter will be stopped. I suppose it will be in the old way by private subscription, for the government never give anything for the Portland roads, etc.

Forgeries have recommenced in the district after a short lull; within a fortnight we have detected 6 forgeries and altered cheques, but with the nearest circuit court at a distance of 200 miles and the heavy expense witnesses are subject to, deter us from treating the presenters as they deserve. The enclosed copy of a letter will show the result of my repeated appeals to our London office to interest themselves in obtaining for this district the benefit of a circuit court. [Enclosure missing].

24 April 1851: Labour is very scarce and although we have repeatedly complained of the systematic neglect the South West ports are treated with, we neither get immigrants nor anything else we require. What the inhabitants do import from Melbourne in the shape of servants are of the most worthless description, people that the folks in Melbourne are only too glad to get quit of and unfit to be allowed to enter any respectable house. . . . During the last month I have detected nearly *twenty* [forgeries and altered cheques] . . . these industrious people prefer the Portland Bay district for their exertions knowing the reluctance all parties have to prosecute whilst our nearest circuit court is at Geelong. When our present stock of cheques are exhausted I think it would be advisable to have a plate with a cloudy part where the amount is filled in so as to be more easily detected if tampered with.

29 May 1851: I have none of your favours to reply to since my last on the 5th inst. which, by the way, was in the robbed mail from here to Geelong; fortunately the robbers did not open the bag from Portland containing our Geelong and Melbourne letters, with remittances which have been acknowledged.

As you have visited the New Canterbury settlement I have been requested by several settlers here to ask your opinion whether you consider it a good outlet for the rapidly increasing flocks in the district warranted free from catarrh; reports state that there is sufficient grazing land for 6,000,000 sheep and several are thinking seriously of shipping large quantities of sheep if they could get authentic informations respecting its capabilities and the terms on which land is held. Lyttleton and Bathurst appear to be dividing attention here at present, the former by the masters and the latter by the men employed on the stations who are evidently meditating a wholesale absconding. If the reports are true respecting the discovery of gold, of which there appears to be little doubt, wages will become very high and the stations will be worse off than ever.

18 June 1851: The discovery of the gold fields in the Bathurst country will injure our district and township very materially, a few parties having left from here; the wet winter weather is deterring many from making an immediate start but as soon as the spring sets in I fully expect that all the young unencumbered men will take their departure and our township will be worse off than ever for labour. In the country the men on the stations are principally hired until after

shearing, when, if the accounts from the diggings continue favourable, emigration from our district will be on a large scale and the settlers will be sadly inconvenienced. Fortunately all the stations were supplied with stores . . . the settlers will carry on well enough this year as with a few exceptions they have all respectable balances either with the bank or their merchants, but next year, what with the high wages and stores and very likely ill got up wools, it will make sad havoc with the wealth that has been accumulated during the last 2 or 3 years.

The gold digging mania is making the shopkeepers and others look very sharp after collecting their accounts. A baker in the town sold off a few days since and sailed for Sydney, leaving several of his creditors in the lurch, coolly informing them that they could not touch him without a judge's order to detain him, and I have no doubt others will adopt the same plan to defraud their creditors.

8 September 1851: The floods this winter have been and still continue to be much higher than was ever known in the Portland Bay district; almost every bridge in the district has been washed away, the greater number of which were erected by private parties. An immense destruction of property has taken place and several lives lost . . . I expect that shearing will be late this season; the weather still continues wet and stormy and it will take the settlers a considerable time to repair damages after the waters have subsided, owing to the communication with the interior having ceased.

2 October 1851: The settlers are completely out of stores, and borrowing appears to be the order of the day until drays can plunge through our abominable roads. Two vessels from London with goods are expected this month and actually one with 170 emigrants for Portland Bay.

6 November 1851: As the shearing gets finished on the stations, many of the men start for the Ballarat diggings and the settlers in some localities are giving as much as 20/- per hundred for shearing. Within the last week several of the people who left Portland for the diggings have returned perfectly satisfied that it would have answered their purpose better to have stuck to their respective callings.

6 December 1851: The favourable accounts from Mt. Alexander and elsewhere have drawn all the labouring men away both from the town and from the district, and the greatest difficulty is experienced in getting anything done in Portland; wages are now enormous, with no prospect of a decline. Our first immigrant ship, the *Tasmania* arrived on 22 November with 196 immigrants, and in 4 days' time they were all engaged and many of the settlers had to return disappointed; 400 or 500 could readily find employment within a week.

1 January 1852: Our town is entirely deserted by the male population. Tradesmen and shopkeepers have all gone to the diggings, leaving their wives if they have them to do the best they can during their absence. . . . In the country the settlers are in a sad state, the men having left nearly every station and sheep are now being shepherded in flocks of 5 or 6,000; the prospect is dismal, for from the extreme scarcity of labour the sheep from the want of the necessary attention will get diseased, and the bush fires in all likelihood will cause destruction before them.

30 January 1852: I am glad to inform you that the merchants and shop-keepers are full of business although the town is nearly deserted; the demand for goods of all sorts is excessive and the returned diggers are spending their easily-won wealth freely . . . of course, the few that are left here are in active preparation for a start; the painters have been doing something for our premises but the gold-fever has attacked them and they are leaving a portion of the house unfinished as they consider they are losing time by waiting. Our last baker and butcher have intimated their intention of leaving very shortly, and how we are to manage is a problem not easily solved.

31 March 1852: Although the gold fields may eventually prove highly beneficial to the colony, they are doing incalculable mischief in the meantime. The diggers who return to Portland have not the slightest intention of returning to their former occupations; they remain at home about a fortnight to recruit and make a fresh start. Tradesmen there are none and the common necessities of life are very difficult to be had. During the winter months I fear the inhabitants will often be at starvation point. I could not have conceived that such an alteration could have taken place within a few months in our township, which before the gold discovery was progressing so steadily.

8 May 1852: On many of the stations the sheep are left to themselves, the owners having to attend to everything; the picture I drew on 31 March is not overdrawn. In a cluster of 7 stations, of which your relation D. F. Minnitt's station forms one, there are only 9 white men exclusive of the proprietors, and scab and all the other diseases sheep are liable to are spreading over the length and breadth of the district. For some time past there has not been a bag of flour in any of the stores in Portland . . . the wheat is slowly coming into Belfast and Warrnambool but the mills have stopped grinding for want of labour and they are equally badly off for flour with ourselves.

About 300 German immigrants are on their way from Adelaide overland to settle in our locality, having forwarded a large stock of stores for their subsistence including flour which is looked upon very wistfully by the inhabitants, many of whom have not tasted bread for some time. Immigration of another description is likely to take place; a number of highlanders and their families are emigrants from Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, and have selected Portland Bay for their homes; they want assistance to bring them here from Adelaide and 12 of us have guaranteed £25 each to pay their passages.

23 November 1852: There will not be any whaling this season by shore parties as it has proved unprofitable of late years; although we have had a great many whales in the bay during those years, yet they are so harassed in the straits as to be very shy and easily alarmed. This bay was once very famous for its whaling which was a source of great profit to the Henty's.

4 January 1853: It may be a matter of serious consequence to many of the shippers that the bills should not arrive in England so long before the wool gets there. Many persons here will draw against their wool as it is shipped and it is possible that the bills (if sent by steamer) may get home *before the vessel has actually left the bay*. The shipment is very uncertain, as the weather sometimes prevents a single bale being put on board for a week; a vessel may be detained by the desertion of her men. Under these circumstances it may be worth while to consider whether bills against wool should not be drawn at 60 days after sight or a certain time after date.

3 March 1853: In the purchase of gold dust I am guided by knowledge of the parties offering it for sale—if a stranger I invariably test it with nitric acid. I am happy to say I do not think it possible that any spurious metal has been purchased by this branch and the greatest care will be taken in all our future purchases.

13 May 1853: The quantity of wool shipped from this place this season is 12,000 bales, being an increase on last year's export of nearly 4,000 bales . . . the price of stone work has advanced very little on the old price but sawn timber and carpenters' wages have advanced 100%.

By a recent *Gazette* I observe the government have reserved several sections of land in the Wannon and Glenelg where the land is of good quality, intended to be surveyed and sold. This circumstance has created some alarm in the minds

of the squatters, as they imagine it to be an infringement of their privileges, the first step towards suppressing squatting—but this is a false alarm as the generality of the land held under lease by the squatters is unfit for cultivation, although the first district in the colony for grazing, being clothed all the year round with a natural grass. It is difficult to say what would become of the district were the sheep runs to be sold as the soil is not sufficiently good to induce the sheep-owners to cultivate to feed their sheep. Doubtless something must be done towards providing the colony with food but it is ridiculous to induce persons to expend their money in cultivating land that is useless. Warrnambool and Port Fairy may boast of fine land and such is the desire to obtain it that £15 per acre for country land has been paid at the last government land sale in actual cash. Many of the purchasers were very fortunate at the mines and if they can provide themselves with a farm they gratify their most anxious wishes. There is also a great extent of rich land at the Grange, portion of which will be sold at Portland on 25th inst. A steam mill is about to be erected there, so that we shall soon have a secured export which will make business a little more active during the winter.

14 July 1853: Our half-yearly balance is completed . . . the balance of current accounts is nearly double what it was last time. Our customers have no means of extending their trade at present in this small place so as to employ their capital and those who were working men are unable to invest their means from want of knowledge, except in land, but most persons are unwilling to sell, and we have a government land sale about twice a year only—even then the quantity is so limited that the great bulk of the people are prevented from purchasing; for these reasons the balance will increase for some time to come.

19 August 1853: I have been advised to make you acquainted with . . . the inadequacy of the salaries enjoyed by the officers of this branch. . . . Potatoes in this district, so near the fine districts of Port Fairy and Warrnambool, have risen within 12 months from £10 to £32 per ton! Flour is at a fixed price of £32 per ton, meat is double the price it was last year and everything else in proportion . . . I shall therefore leave the above statement for your consideration, merely adding that in this young town we are called upon to aid in forming all its institutions, religious and civil, which is a tax the pioneers of every country are subject to.

Government has at length resolved to do something for Portland—£5,000 has been granted for a penal stockade, £4,000 for bridges between this and Grange, £5,000 has already been laid out on the roads leading to the interior, a further sum of £1,000 has been allowed for repairs to the streets, a second jetty is to be added, many public buildings erected and a promise given of a large sum of money for a breakwater; and when we are supplied with a limited number of convicts under proper control, the roads to the interior will be put into thorough repair, which will create a large traffic for Portland. I think it will be acknowledged that there are not worse roads in the colony, which causes the trade of the district to be catered to other ports. A person has just arrived with boring apparatus to seek for coal, and it is confidently expected that it will be found within a mile or two of Portland.

25 October 1853: Very little profitable business is done at this time of year . . . at Port Fairy it is different for besides a considerable quantity of wool, they export grain which the superiority of the soil enables the settlers to grow. This presents an appearance of business there during the wet season which is not observed here. This will not always be the case for although the land in the neighbourhood of Portland is not remarkable for its richness, yet as the government has thought it judicious to have it sold by auction, there seems every indisposition among our working people to cultivate . . . we are in daily expectation of receiving steam

machinery for saw mills which will reduce the price of timber, now so enormously high.

13 February 1854: As the squatting interests are at present situated in this colony too much caution cannot be used in giving accommodation to the settlers; the leases of runs have never yet been issued and during the present agitation in council of the subject it is not likely they will be granted. The prevalence of scab among the sheep and the consequent desire of many to part with their runs induced persons to speculate, trusting in the assistance which this branch has hitherto given them, and the knowledge of there being great opposition in banking.⁵ I consider also that the safety of the squatters rests mainly on the influence of their clan in the council. The power of the people is becoming greater every day and we may safely predict from the result of many of the elections that have taken place that members will be returned whose principles are entirely democratic. The squatting interest will then suffer severely, and although the council may not perhaps commit such an act of injustice as to deprive the squatters of their runs yet it may exact such large rents and assessments which will make sheep and cattle farming an unprofitable pursuit.

29 March 1854: You would have heard probably of the serious disasters to the shipping at Port Fairy. During a severe gale from the S., 2 large vessels were driven ashore and totally wrecked . . . there were 14 vessels lying in our bay without the slightest damage. Last week we had another visitation of the kind and as usual reports were received of the loss of two more vessels at Port Fairy . . . insurance cannot be obtained in any of the colonial offices to that port under 6½% prem. There is an impression in England and elsewhere that Portland Bay and Port Fairy are one and the same; but there could not be a greater error—the latter is certainly situated at the far end of the bight called Portland Bay, but vessels lying there are just as much exposed to the prevailing winds as if they were anchored in the open straits. No captain in his senses would venture to run into that port for shelter; it is singular that the vessels lost there lately were moored by the chains sent down by the government and said to be strong enough to hold the largest frigate in the world. The *Benjamin Elkin*, another large vessel filled up with wool was so much injured that it was a miracle she did not go down at her moorings—the men were compelled to seek shelter in the rigging. During these gales many of the vessels lying in our port had only one anchor down.

28 April 1854: An increased demand has arisen for local discount of a legitimate character, which would induce the opinion that Portland is arousing from the apathy which has, since its formation, retarded its progress. With such a large district, the great amount of capital in it and the great consumption which must necessarily be, it is extraordinary what a small town it is. It can in a measure be accounted for by the fact that the land in the vicinity is very poor and unprofitable until worked for several years.

12 June 1854: We are to have a breakwater, lighthouse, a new jetty and a great many improvements to the roads, which are at present impassable, but it will take an immense amount of money to make our roads passable in winter. The only real drawback is the want of a good road from Portland to the Grange, which is in the neighbourhood of all the best stations and on the main line of road to Melbourne and Geelong. When this is commenced Portland will become a place of the greatest importance to the colony.

5. A branch of the Bank of Australasia was established at Portland in June 1853 (Learmonth, *op. cit.*, p. 187).

ACCESSIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS

CITY OF AUCKLAND PUBLIC LIBRARIES: The Chief Librarian,
Central Library, Auckland, C.1, New Zealand.

The following MSS. have been acquired since August 1939 (see vol. i, p. 61):

Log book, diary, letters and miscellaneous papers of Thomas Bateman, 15 March 1841 to 24 October 1871. Pp. 251, port., map.

Diary and letters of Edward Meurant, 1 October 1842 to 25 July 1847.
3 vol.

Memoranda of agreement and certificates of character of persons receiving a free passage to New Zealand from the New Zealand, Manakau and Waitemata company, 1840.

PUBLIC LIBRARY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA—ARCHIVES DEPARTMENT:
The Archivist, Box 386A, G.P.O., Adelaide.

The following are the more important acquisitions, July to December, 1941 (see vol. i, pp. 61, 274):

Eyre's expedition, 1840-1: copies of correspondence dealing with discovery of Baxter's remains and other relics, 1882-1938.

Accounts and other papers of the mercantile firm of Bunce and Thomson, 1841-3.

Plan of special surveys, comprising 21,000 acres, taken by George Fife Angas, 1842.

Port Adelaide and Gawler railways: correspondence, reports and miscellaneous papers, in the 1850's.

Collection of about 200 South Australian photographs, 1870's and 1880's, taken by Captain S. W. Sweet.

Commercial Bank of South Australia: liquidators' minutes, 1890-3.

Marine Board: inquiries into the loss of various vessels, 1890-1901.

South African War, 1899-1902: enlistment rolls of the first and third South Australian contingents, signed by officers and men when sworn in.

THE HOCKEN LIBRARY, Otago University Library, Dunedin, N.1,
New Zealand: The Librarian, John Harris.

(a) *Catalogue of the Hocken Library, Dunedin.* Compiled . . . by W. H. Trimble, 1912 [Author and subject catalogue].

Since 1937 all additions to the library have been listed in *Otago University Library Notes and Accessions* [mimeographed, about ten issues a year].

(b) Arrangements can usually be made for the reproduction of manuscripts and printed material by microfilming. An Argus microfilm reader is available.

The following MSS. have been acquired since 1 January 1937:

Letters of John Betts, 1844, describing a journey overland from Auckland to Wanganui and Wellington.

Papers of Sir Frederick Revans Chapman (1849-1936), including manuscript notes on New Zealand history, Maori ethnography, place-names, native lands, etc., and court notes on various trials, commissions, etc.

Papers of Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers, the missionary, 1811-85, in English and Maori, containing letters, notes on Maori mythology, etc.

Volume of Tahitian photographs with manuscript notes by H. Ling Roth.

Records of Otago Provincial Works, Lands, and Survey Departments, including letter-books, reports, minute books, etc.

Papers of Sir James Hector (1834-1907), including letters, note-books, and journals.

English translation by D. H. de Beer of Kramer's *Samoa-Inseln*.

Papers of Rev. William Hewitson (1860-1932), Master of Knox College, comprising letters, sermons, notes, etc.

Transcript of minutes book, Dunedin Athenaeum and Mechanics' Institution, 1859-82.

Transcript of the journals and correspondence of James Kemp (1788-1872) of the C.M.S., Keri-keri, Bay of Islands, covering the years 1823-46.

PUBLIC LIBRARY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA (see vol. i, p. 127):

No MSS. were acquired during 1940.

TASMANIA: THE TASMANIAN PUBLIC LIBRARY, Hobart, has no MSS. holdings.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY'S DEPARTMENT, Hobart, has acquired no MSS. during the years, 1937-41.

WRITINGS ON NEW ZEALAND HISTORY, 1938-1941¹

The years 1938 to 1941 will stand out in the bibliography of New Zealand as a period of remarkable literary activity by reason of the spate of books which appeared in connection with, or motivated by, the centennial celebrations of the dominion. Reference has already been made in this journal to the chief official publications, the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, the 'Centennial Surveys' (of which all but one have now appeared) and the 2-volume 'Pictorial Surveys' (issued in 30 parts). Owing to the war the ambitious Centennial Atlas is not likely to appear for some time yet. In addition to producing these official publications, the National Historical Committee gave its blessing to a number of approved local histories which received subsidies from the centennial funds. A considerable number of other volumes, large and small, emanated from independent enthusiasm and research.

A good proportion of the books mentioned herein are definite contributions to the history of New Zealand. Some are written with due regard to historical method; several contain bibliographies, and in a few cases the writers have closely documented their text. Certain original journals and diaries are published for the first time. The local histories are based mainly on research in newspaper files, a source in which New Zealand is particularly rich. In the aggregate an amazing mass of historical data has been brought together in a form which makes it available to students of the future who will thank the National Historical Committee for the impetus it has given in this respect and particularly in encouraging the compilation of authentic chronologies and biographical lists. In only a few of the books is historical method entirely absent, and almost all are provided with indexes.

The more pretentious histories are those of the provincial districts into which New Zealand was divided for governmental purposes between 1853 and 1876. Perhaps the best conceived of these is Alan Mulgan's *The city of the strait: Welling-*

1. See also vol. 1, p. 127.

ton and its province (A. H. and A. W. Reed, 340 pp., 15/-). The appendices include a select chronology, lists of passengers by ships which reached this first colony of the New Zealand Company up to 30 Aug. 1840, rolls of provincial council and parliamentary representatives, and mayors of boroughs. Another fine volume is *Marlborough, a provincial history* (431 pp., 15/-), by A. D. McIntosh, assisted by W. E. Redman, W. R. Allen and others, and is dedicated to the memory of Thomas Lindsay Buick (author of *Old Marlborough*). Mr. McIntosh's thirteen chapters are the judiciously written product of years of research into the history of a quaint and turbulent community of squatters which hived off in 1859 from the original province of Nelson. W. J. Elvy contributes the chapter on Maori history and A. M. Hale the chronology. Professor J. Rutherford's *The founding of New Zealand* (Reed, 267 pp., 7/6) is based on the letters and journals of Felton Mathew, the first surveyor-general of New Zealand, and his wife, during the period 1840-47. These papers, which came to hand as the result of a centennial appeal, throw valuable light on the nebulous incidents of the foundation of the government at Bay of Islands and the subsequent establishment of the capital at the Waitemata. The companion volume is a *Roll of early settlers and descendants in the Auckland province, prior to the end of 1852* (260 pp., 5/-), published by the Auckland Provincial Centennial Council. Professor Rutherford is also responsible, with a local historian, W. H. Skinner, for editing the commemorative book of Taranaki province, *The establishment of the New Plymouth settlement in New Zealand, 1841-43* (270 pp., 8/6). This embraces extracts from the journals of Henry Weekes (surgeon of the *William Bryan*), John Newland (a passenger by the *Amelia Thompson*), Josiah Flight (a passenger by the *Timandra*), passenger lists of ships which arrived at New Plymouth from 1841 to 1860, and lists of naval and military settlers. In a different class from the point of view of method is the *History of Hawkes Bay*, by J. G. Wilson and others (Reed, 468 pp., 15/-). In the Maori history of the province, which fills the first 100 pages, W. T. Prentice has steered with caution through the currents of bias and tribalism which make Maori history so intricate and precarious. About 300 pages are occupied by Mr. Wilson's history, which is based largely on his own experiences and a close study of the records and of published and unpublished diaries. It is rather scrappy in arrangement and diffuse in style, and errors notified just after publication are evidence of undue haste in compilation. Nevertheless the book brings together a mass of information which will assist future students.

In a group of sub-provincial publications the most interesting and scholarly is Basil Howard's *Rakiura, a history of Stewart Island* (Reed, 415 pp.). This research carried Dr. Howard in the footsteps of Robert McNab to original sources in Tasmania, New South Wales and the New England whaling ports in the United States. He has a good bibliography, but the text, though well annotated, is not as closely documented as one might wish. The economic and topographical chapters are inclined to verbosity, but the work is scholarly and leaves us with a comfortable feeling that Dr. Howard has not left unrecorded anything that he has discovered. Amongst the documents reproduced are the log of the *Mermaid* (1823), the journal of Shepherd on the expedition of the first New Zealand Company (1826), William Anglem's sailing directions and deeds of purchase. *A centennial history of Tauranga*, by W. H. Gifford and H. Bradney Williams (351 pp., 12/6), is rather more important than a purely local history, since it is based on a diary kept at Tauranga by one of the early missionaries, the Ven. Archdeacon Alfred Nesbit Brown, covering the history of the Te Papa mission from its foundation in 1834 till 1880. This high-minded churchman did not fully agree with some of his seniors in the Church Missionary Society and his journals have therefore a special importance.

Local histories: One of the best of these, as an example of honest research and systematic arrangement, is Irwin Faris's *Charleston, its rise and decline* (Reed, 231 pp., 16/-). This is an exhaustive epitome of the topography and biographical history of a once-flourishing goldfield now reduced to a few dozen inhabitants. It has many illustrations and maps, but unfortunately no index. *Wanganui*, by L. J. B. Chapple and H. C. Veitch (312 pp., 15/-), is a copious collection of historical data, strong in topography, with maps, plans, local body lists and war rolls of honour. *History of North Otago*, by K. C. McDonald (Oamaru, 275 pp., 6/-), is rather too full of detail, but includes a bibliography, chronology and biographical lists. *History of Akaroa and Banks Peninsula, 1840-1940* (396 pp., 10/-), is an anonymously edited successor to H. C. Jacobson's *Tales of Banks Peninsula*, which saw three editions. There is no method and no index and numerous errors occur in spelling and fact. The book includes J. W. Stack's Maori history of 1884 and extracts from the log kept by George Hempleman at Piraki (1835-36). *Old Westland*, by E. Iveagh Lord (Whitcombe and Tombs, 258 pp., 7/6), is a readable popular history replete with incident and anecdote. Cyril J. Roberts's *Centennial history of Hawera and the Waimate Plains* (395 pp., 7/-), published by a group of local bodies to celebrate the diamond jubilee of the Hawera County Council, is rather confused in arrangement, but the mass of local and personal history is made accessible by a minute biographical index. John Brown's *Ashburton, New Zealand, its pioneers and its history, 1853-1939* (Reed, 766 pp., 15/-), is compiled with great care on the basis of research in newspapers and minute books of local bodies; it is strong in biography and topography. *South Auckland, a centennial publication*, by H. E. R. Wily (261 pp.), is the commemorative volume for the counties of Manukau, Franklin, Raglan and Waipa, lying between the city of Auckland and Waikato; it contains little original matter. Another book relying partly on the Brown diary is C. W. Vennell's *Such things were: the story of Cambridge, New Zealand* (175 pp., 7/6). It is carefully compiled, has a good map, roll of pioneers 1864-75 and a good index. *Port Molyneux, the story of Maori and Pakeha in South Otago* (72 pp., 1/6), by Fred. Waite, M.L.C., is carefully compiled by a well-known student of South Island Maori history. *Lower Hutt, past and present* (141 pp., 6/-), published by the Lower Hutt Borough Council, is a collection of historical facts and figures from the arrival of the first settlers in 1839 to the proclamation of the city on 21 Jan. 1941; profusely illustrated. W. B. Nicholson has compiled *Petone's first 100 years* (272 pp., 4/6). Melville Harcourt's *The day before yesterday* (Reed, 253 pp., 4/6) is a short history of Bay of Islands compiled from printed sources. James Garcia's *History of Whangamomona County* (136 pp., 5/-) is good readable local history with much personal information. Enid Tapsell's *Historic Maketu* (75 pp., 5/-) centres about the life-story of Philip Tapsell; little is original and there is no index. Thomas A. Pybus compiled *It happened in Otakou 1840-1940* (24 pp., 1/3), and D. W. Malloch wrote on *Early Waikouaiti* (83 pp., 6/-). *Te Waimate, early station life in New Zealand*, by Edgar C. Studholme (Reed, 299 pp., 15/-), though in no sense a centennial book, covers the history of a sheep station in Canterbury, which was taken up by Michael Studholme in 1854.

In the biographical field there are a few noteworthy volumes. *Matthews of Kaitaia*, by Sophia C. and L. J. Matthews (Reed, 213 pp., 7/6), is the story of a missionary, Joseph Matthews, who arrived at Bay of Islands in 1832. There are extracts from his own intermittent journal, but the book is mainly made up from the journals and letters of other missionaries (such as W. Williams, Puckey, Colenso and Davis) and the Missionary Register and Church Missionary Society

reports. The well-known missionary family of Williams is commemorated by Frederic Wanklyn Williams in *Through ninety years, 1826-1916* (Whitcombe and Tombs, 360 pp., 15/-), which contains a good deal of original matter from the family letters and journals. Herries Beattie, a southern historian, published an interesting story of humble life, *The first white boy in Otago; Story of T. B. Kennard* (Reed, 204 pp., 7/6). What may be classed as collected biographies include two volumes of narratives of pioneer women: *Brave days* (Reed, 309 pp., 4/6), produced by the Women's Division of the Farmers' Union, and *Tales of pioneer women* (Whitcombe and Tombs, 337 pp., 5/-) by the Women's Institute of New Zealand. Mary C. Thomas's *Yeomen of the South* (Southland News Co., 188 pp., 4/-) contains well-written stories of individual settlers in Southland province.

Among biographies having no particular reference to the centennial but important in themselves are James Cowan's long overdue *Sir Donald Maclean* (Reed, 157 pp., 7/6), and the Hon. W. Downie Stewart's *William Rolleston* (Whitcombe and Tombs, 215 pp., 12/6). These are authoritative lives of two of our great men, the first a native administrator and the second a statesman.

In the religious sphere there are Professor J. R. Elder's *History of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1840-1940* (Presbyterian Book Room, 464 pp., 22/6), William J. Comrie's *Presbytery of Auckland* (261 pp., 7/6), H. D. Grocott's centennial souvenir of *St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Wellington* (24 pp., 1/-), A. B. Chappell's *Across a hundred years* (for the Methodist Centenary Committee, 63 pp.,) and C. J. Freeman's *The Centenary of Wesley Church, Wellington* (64 pp.).

In addition to E. H. McCormick's volume in the 'Surveys,' New Zealand literature is dealt with authoritatively in Elizabeth M. Smith's *History of New Zealand fiction* (Reed, 101 pp., 3/6); this volume has a bibliography of 25 pages covering the period 1862-1940. *The History of printing in New Zealand, 1830-1940* is a large generously-produced volume (edited by Richard A. McKay) and published by the Wellington Club of Printing House Craftsmen (252 pp., £3/3/-). It is fully illustrated in the various processes. H. F. von Haast's *New Zealand Privy Council cases, 1840-1932* (Butterworth, 816 pp., £5/5/-) is an outstanding legal publication of the period.

Historians interested in the maritime enterprise of New Zealand will be disappointed with the three volumes which purport to record this important phase of national development. The best of the three is *Clipper ship to motor line* (London, 110 pp.), in which Sydney D. Waters tells the story of the New Zealand Shipping Co. The Union Steamship Co. of New Zealand issued its history in a pamphlet of 55 pp., and the Shaw Savill and Albion Co. in London engaged Frank C. Bowen to write its story, *The flag of the Southern Cross* (122 pp.). This has the best appendix of the three, containing the lists of the company's fleet and a good index.

The Union Bank of Australia, the first to open business in New Zealand, published (in Australia) a brochure covering the century of its operations; and the Bank of New South Wales issued free of charge a booklet on its century of experience, entitled *Pioneering New Zealand* (31 pp.) In this connection should be listed Allan Sutherland's very competent *Numismatic history of New Zealand*, which appeared in 6 parts (T. Avery and Sons, 310 pp., 35/-).

General Assembly Library,
Wellington, C.1.

G. H. SCHOLEFIELD

REVIEWS

Bibliography of Australia. Volume 1, 1784-1830. By John Alexander Ferguson. Pp. xii, 540, plates. Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1941. £3/3/- net.

It would be difficult to over-emphasize the importance of this book, and it is equally difficult to make apparent its full significance within the limits of a review. No student, collector, or librarian, whose interests impinge upon the Australian or Pacific fields will be able to dispense with it. As the publishers declare: 'It has long been a matter of complaint that no complete bibliography of Australia was to be found;' the results of former efforts were 'either incomplete, or the attempts were abandoned owing to the magnitude of the task.' The actual number of the items which Mr. Ferguson has traced would serve to endorse and explain these statements without any further comment. Despite the deliberate omission of maps and charts, articles not subsequently re-issued as separate publications, and items relating to Captain Cook (the last of which have already been catalogued in great detail), fourteen hundred entries for books, pamphlets, broadsides, periodicals and newspapers still remain, in more than a dozen languages.

Moreover, Mr. Ferguson has compiled far more than a list of titles. The description of each work is detailed; historical and bibliographical notes are frequently added, and the reader is informed where copies of most of the publications mentioned can be consulted. The title-pages of thirty-two items are reproduced as illustrations, and the whole is rounded off with a comprehensive subject and author index. Bibliography has become a very exacting science, and this is bibliography on a grand scale; it is, in fact, on such a scale that one can only express the hope that Mr. Ferguson will realize the ambition expressed in the opening sentence of his introduction and make this but 'the first part of what may become a more extended Bibliography of Australia.'

The introduction clearly indicates that we may expect the companion volume covering the period 1830 to 1838. When this appears, the present reviewer would welcome one additional service, in the form of a small extension of the index. On pp. viii-ix, Mr. Ferguson draws particular attention to the seventeen countries (excluding the various Australian colonies) in which works relating to Australia were published during the years 1784 to 1838; but anyone particularly concerned with, say, Dutch or French interests in this part of the world during that period has no ready means of turning up the names of the various works actually published in the Netherlands or France. Even a careful perusal of the existing index for titles in the respective languages does not solve the problem, owing to the fact that the occasional publication of Latin texts still persisted. Under England, Mr. Ferguson lists no fewer than twenty-three towns and cities, ranging from Margate to Manchester and Bristol to Berwick. As the really significant social background of transportation and emigration, for example, will be most conveniently investigated by means of regional studies, it would be a boon to have the actual provincial publications noted in the index under county sub-headings.

Many of the items included in the present volume are extremely rare. One plate is a reproduction of *The Derwent Star and Van Diemen's Land Intelligencer*, no. 1, new edition, from 'the only copy known of any issue in the second life of the paper,' now in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. The next plate illustrates the title-page of John William Lewin's *Birds of New South Wales, with their natural history*, Sydney, 1813, which is the second edition of *Birds of New Holland, with their natural history*, London, 1808. Only six copies of each edition are known to exist, and while shipwreck may explain the disappearance of the Australian subscribers'

copies in the earlier instance, it is difficult to explain the rarity of the Sydney edition. If other copies of such rarities exist, particularly in Australia, they must be in the possession of individuals unaware of their particular value. Private individuals may likewise possess copies of the several works whose titles are known to Mr. Ferguson from earlier catalogues or contemporary references, but of which he has so far failed to trace a single extant copy. It would seem then that the time has come for a body such as the Institute of Librarians to arrange a nation-wide appeal over the radio to encourage people to cast their eyes more carefully over their books. Books were usually to be found in the isolated station homesteads of a century ago, and in some cases rare Australiana may still be tucked away between the drab, faded covers of early editions of Dickens, Blackwood's, and *Chambers' Encyclopaedia*. In the case of printed books, and old family papers and diaries alike, the radio does offer the means of a really wide appeal, where the press has obviously failed.

In contrast to the many rare items, narratives of voyages and travels translated into several languages are remarkably numerous; and these will be of interest to many who are not otherwise concerned with Australian bibliography as such. Even during the Napoleonic Wars, the world of science and literature was reluctant to recognize political frontiers and retained something of its former cosmopolitan character. A French translation of Phillip's *Voyage to Botany Bay* appeared in 1791, of Bligh's *Voyage to the South Sea* in 1792, of Barrington's *Voyage to Botany Bay* in 1798, and of Broughton's *Voyage of discovery to the North Pacific* and Turnbull's *Voyage round the world* in 1807, to name but a few of the translations which Mr. Ferguson gives. Indeed the sustained Anglo-French commercial and colonial rivalry is in striking contrast to that unstinted admiration for things English which spread so rapidly in eighteenth century France as to acquire the distinctive epithet of *L'anglomanie*. As R. L. Graeme Ritchie has pointed out (*France; a companion to French studies*, Methuen, 1937, p. 177), 'A French novel, to be successful, almost had to be given out as the work of an English author. To the new profession of letters, translation of English books became the recognized avenue.'

While Dutch interest in Australia and the Pacific is no revelation, what is the precise significance of the increasing frequency with which English maritime literature was translated into German as early as the eighteenth century? For years, the German version of the journal of Anson's voyage round the world was looked upon by the few who were aware of its existence as a genuine curiosity; but the present reviewer has also come across a German translation of the second edition of Dr. John Campbell's *Lives of the admirals, and other eminent British seamen* (Gottingen and Leipzig, 1755), and Mr. Ferguson now offers a whole series of German texts, ranging from two separate versions of Phillip's *Voyage* in 1791 to a translation of Peter Cunningham's *Two years in New South Wales* in 1829. Translations listed in Mr. Ferguson's subsequent volumes will be of even greater interest, for they should give us clear indications of the stages whereby the scientists' interest in discovery and cartography was at length supplemented by the would-be emigrants' demand for general manuals and hand-books, as the great period of European migration dawned.

In his later volumes, Mr. Ferguson will naturally wish to follow the arrangement and lay-out which has been devised for this first instalment. It is clear then that the attempts to reproduce as accurately as possible each separate line of a title-page will continue to involve considerable labour in the preparation of the mss. and also in the checking of the proofs. If bibliography is to provide such detail, and librarians and collectors naturally welcome it, the question arises of how closely the original title-page can and should be followed. It is generally

agreed that the constant variations in the size of type cannot be indicated satisfactorily. It might appear however that the original can be followed so far as the use of capitals is concerned; and it seems that Mr. Ferguson is conscientiously trying to do this. But, in the volume under review, there are cases where the actual photographs of title-pages reveal occasional inconsistencies when compared with the corresponding entries in type. In some cases (e.g., nos. 21, 74, 455, 1391) it is a matter of capitals at the beginning of occasional words; in others, (esp. no. 1391), it is a matter of punctuation. But entry no. 74 (and also the opening lines of other entries) raises a different problem. Ignoring differences in size of type, the title of no. 74 as revealed by the photograph reads as follows:

A NARRATIVE OF THE MUTINY, ON BOARD HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S SHIP BOUNTY; AND THE SUBSEQUENT VOYAGE OF PART OF THE CREW, IN THE SHIP'S BOAT, From Tofoa, one of the Friendly Islands, To Timor, a Dutch Settlement in the East-Indies.

The printed entry is as follows:

A Narrative of the Mutiny, on board His Britannic Majesty's Ship Bounty; and the subsequent voyage of part of the crew, in the ship's boat, from Tofoa, one of the Friendly Islands, to Timor, a Dutch Settlement in the East-Indies.

Have bibliographers yet accepted any definite ruling on words printed in capitals throughout? Many librarians have recognized the fact that the use of capitals at the beginning only of such words must be a matter of individual choice, as indeed it was in all cases a century or more ago; they are abandoning the British Museum practice established by Panizzi years ago, of reducing capitals after first important stop, and under the influence of modern American practice they are tending to use capitals only for proper names and after stops. Their catalogue entry in this case would thus be:

A narrative of the mutiny, on board His Britannic Majesty's ship Bounty; and the subsequent voyage of part of the crew, in the ship's boat, from Tofoa, one of the Friendly Islands, to Timor, a Dutch settlement in the East-Indies.

If this ruling were adopted by bibliographers, mss. would be easier to prepare, proofs would be more easily checked, and printing costs might be slightly reduced; and most readers would welcome all possible expedition and economy in the preparation of further volumes of this bibliography. A further small economy in space might also be made if the type was less heavily leaded; as it is, a sustained consultation seems to involve a degree of eye-strain.

These later points are not raised as sniping criticisms; Mr. Ferguson is producing a bibliography of such competence that the reviewer feels that attention to them may assist the preparation of further volumes and place the whole among the admitted models of the art.

G. F. JAMES

Government in New Zealand. By Leicester Webb. Pp. 179.

Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1940. 5/- net.

In their attitude to their country New Zealanders tend to fall into two classes. There are those who think it in all respects God's own country and who write to the press when any visitor makes mild comments, say, on our food habits. Others, agreeing with kindly but critical visitors or with New Zealanders who have discovered abroad that the high tide of progressive thought has not always washed our shores, tend to get an excessive satisfaction out of thanking God that they are not as other New Zealanders. Mr. Webb tickles the fancy of neither of these groups but contributes to a real understanding of New Zealand problems and trends.

To the criticism that the level of enlightenment and ability in government is low he replies that Parliament in its composition is much the same as similar bodies in other countries; but, although safe mediocrity may be sufficient in Parliament, it is not so in the executive. The long political apprenticeship that the cabinet minister usually has to serve, exaggerated by the long periods between changes of government, normally puts him on the wrong side of sixty. Problems that are clearly defined and that require an easily measurable type of ability are dealt with as efficiently as in any other part of the world; but, in matters involving 'excursions into abstract thought' and ability of a type difficult to define or measure, 'government in New Zealand is frequently at a loss and tends either to fall back on shallow notions of common sense or to become dominated by ideas which are ingenious and misleading simplifications.'

The interesting figures that Mr. Webb has compiled on the age, education, and occupations, both of members of Parliament and of cabinet ministers, show a steady increase in the average age of members from 39·8 in 1854 to 58 in 1931, with a downward trend in the standard of formal education. It should be remembered that the low average age in early Parliaments may be partly attributed to the general age composition natural to the population of a young colony. A further factor was probably the influence of the Wakefield settlements, which were intended to be 'extensions of an old society.' Godley of Canterbury did not want foxes 'but deer and hares we must positively have, as well as partridges and pheasants.' It was only in such a society, embracing an educated leisure class, that a young man could get an easy passport into politics. The importance of this factor is hard to estimate; but few will lament its passing. The 1935 elections showed a reversal of the trend both in age and education. The 1938 figures are not given. If the 1935 turn is sustained it would imply the beginning of the maturity of a new society. That the change was not reflected in the cabinet was not unnatural in a party attaining office for the first time.

Most readers will probably find greatest interest in the first two chapters and the last, which are more general and interpretative, though essential material is contained in the intervening pages. Mr. Webb's generalization (p. 23) that in the fortunes of political parties 'generally speaking prosperity brings a swing to the left and economic adversity a swing back to the right,' would be difficult to sustain, if 'brings' is used in a causative sense. The reverse would appear to be a more accurate statement. It is true that the term of a more liberal government tends to coincide in time with a return to prosperity; and the success in office of the Liberal-Labour government of 1891, as of the Labour government of 1935, was undoubtedly 'to some extent made possible by' a recovery in the price of primary products. But in each case the swing of the electorate to the left may be reasonably attributed to the preceding depression. Something must be allowed for the time-lag of opinion; and in the second case opinion had had no chance of registering itself in an election since 1931. Prices had begun to improve in 1933-4; but it was the bitter experience of the depression that caused many voters, especially small farmers, to turn to Labour for the first time.

Again the Liberal-Labour Party was essentially a depression product. Its electoral success in 1891 can hardly be attributed to prosperity, for in 1890 and 1891 emigration from New Zealand exceeded immigration, while the decisive turn of prices did not come till 1895. The accession of the United Party in 1928 was also connected with the period of uncertainty and partial depression after the breaking of the boom in 1921. However, it would probably be true to say that whatever government is in office in a depression loses ground after a while.

In the crisis of world and social organization that faces us Mr. Webb's last

chapter should be read carefully and some of its possible implications considered. It picks up many points made incidentally in earlier chapters. Mr. Webb assesses the nature of New Zealand democracy. Nineteenth century British thought tended to assign a largely negative role to the state. New Zealanders have generally in theory not questioned this attitude. But New Zealand conditions, including the absence of some of the traditional institutions of an old society, have dictated an assignment to the state of more positive functions in economic and social life. The extent to which a whole gamut of different and conflicting interests appeal to the state for action is almost notorious. Yet this has not been accompanied by any new philosophy of the state. 'The result,' Mr. Webb aptly remarks, 'is like a game of football in which the players on both sides are constantly appealing to a referee whose ruling they are nevertheless unwilling to accept.'

If any philosophy can be said to inspire this resort to the state it is a rather vague humanitarianism *sans doctrines*. Certain standards of life are regarded as essential to men and women and children as such; but there is a sad ignorance of the way in which the realization of such a goal affects and is affected by the form of economic organization. In New Zealand 'the State can no longer realistically be regarded . . . as an association for the negative purpose of removing hindrances to the individual's happiness.' But actual change has not been 'accompanied by any clear or consistent idea of the relations which should exist between the State and the agencies for the production of wealth.' Hence arises the inconsistency that 'lies in the unwillingness of New Zealanders to concede to the State an authority in economic affairs commensurate with its responsibilities.'

This is touching root questions, not only for New Zealand but for all the capitalist democracies, where loose thinking about the state and evasion of the problems involved has been possible only because of the favourable position which they have enjoyed and which is scarcely open to them any longer. The realization of the humanitarian urges that have assigned increasing duties to the state requires something more than a doctrineless sentiment; and the conception of the state must be a central feature of doctrine. Apart from the anarchist rejection of the state, can any consistent standing ground be found between the idealist conception of the state, in the mode of Hegel, Bosanquet, and Fascism, and the concept of the state as a realistic reflection of the class-structure of the society it governs? Drifting doctrinelessness may well land us up in a Hegelian state rather than in the really humane society we vaguely desire. Mr. Webb does not pose this question explicitly; but his survey is a valuable document in the case. W. T. G. AIREY

The Maori People To-day—A General Survey. Edited by I. L. G. Sutherland. Issued under the auspices of the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs and the New Zealand Council for Educational Research. Pp. 449. Oxford University Press, New York and London, 1940. 15/- sterling.

This is a composite work in which two outstanding Maoris, Dr. Peter H. Buck and Sir Apirana T. Ngata, devote the learning and wisdom of practical experience which has characterized their writings to the main problem viewed by seven white co-authors—the impact of European life on Maori society.

The editor, Professor Sutherland, is concerned in his introduction and concluding chapter mainly with the psychological implications of Maori and *pakeha* (white) relations. Dr. Ernest Beaglehole writes of the Maoris' place among the Polynesian peoples. Mr. Harold Miller gives us a critical retrospect of the treatment of the Maoris during the days of colonization prelude the Maori wars. Professor Belshaw writes with a lively understanding of the economic problem arising from contemporary Maori life in twentieth century society. Health and education

are reviewed with a valuable array of data by Dr. Turbott and Mr. D. G. Ball respectively. Mr. Roger Duff gives us a chapter on the special case of the sparse and weakened tribes of the South Island. Sir Apirana Ngata contributes chapters on Maori land settlement, tribal organization arts and crafts and religion, which show with scholarly humanism how the Maori, despite all the pressure and violence of the western influx, has preserved with rare tenacity the essential cultural heritage of his people. The unity of the work comes from its basic theme: the problem of adaptation of Maori society and culture to the values and economic pressure of European twentieth century civilization. Professor Sutherland states the problem in his final chapter:

'Is it possible to provide the Maori with the technical equipment of the *pakeha* so that his material well-being is in many ways provided for and economic self-support achieved while at the same time maintaining, as the Maoris most surely desire to do, the individuality of the race with a selected cultural background?'

One of the best qualities running through nearly all the contributions is a frankly critical and scientific approach. Published in New Zealand's centennial year in which the jubilee spirit naturally coloured the national mind, the volume harbours few illusions concerning past Maori-*pakeha* relations. Professor Sutherland at the outset disposes of the 'legend' that 'no native people has ever been so fairly treated by Europeans as has the Maori people' and insists that 'if they were treated more decently than some other peoples it was largely because their own qualities demanded it.' Similarly Dr. Buck's view that the 'history of the State's dealing in Maori lands is a sad story that makes the heart sick' is amply borne out in Mr. Miller's account of the actual results of the much-idealised Treaty of Waitangi. He shows with fresh impartiality how the clash between the rude acquisitiveness of the white settler and what one Minister of Native Affairs termed 'the beastly communism' of the Maori land system led to the wars of the 'sixties in which twenty thousand troops were engaged and as a result of which the Maori tribal system was largely broken and three million acres of the best land confiscated.

This, however, is rather the necessary background to the more positive theme of the work. Underlying all the unfortunate errors and injustices of the past lay the official policy expressed in the Native Trust Ordinance of 1844 of 'assimilating as speedily as possible the habits and usages of the native to those of the European population. . . . 'In recent years there has been a growing recognition that this assimilation policy was founded on the nineteenth century assumption that the capitalist civilization of the west was the best in the best of all possible worlds. In New Zealand the policy violently disrupted the tribal organization and community life and values of the Maori without bringing him the promised compensations of material security and a measure of economic and social equality with the *pakeha*. In retaliation there arose the Young Maori Party as a political and cultural movement aiming at the preservation of the individuality of the Maori people and the enduring values of their culture. Sir Apirana Ngata gives us in his chapters a clear and balanced picture of the progress of this renaissance; and in the chapters on education and economic conditions it is encouraging to find that definite progress has recently been made in the problem of adjusting the Maori way of life to the demands of European capitalist democracy.

Despite such progress, however, the contributors are agreed that the fundamental problem of a satisfactory adjustment has in no way been solved. Professor Belshaw frankly admits that if the material standards of the Maori are to be raised to provide him with a measure of economic and social opportunity on a par with the *pakeha's*, then his ways of life 'must approximate more closely to those of the

European.' But in this process he hopes that the strength of Maori community life may be sufficiently preserved to avoid his becoming 'an acquisitive individualist or a lonely peasant.'

This is the core of the problem so long as Maori and *pakeha* have to live together in a capitalist society whose forces, in Professor Belshaw's words, 'weaken the communal bonds and disintegrate the traditions of the (Maori) race.' None of the contributors consider the potentialities of Maori-*pakeha* adaptation under a different social system in which the disruption of the Maori's communal habits by an acquisitive individualism would disappear. Nor is the alternative merely hypothetical. In the U.S.S.R., for instance, most fruitful results have been achieved in treating the problem of some 190 national minorities, including many native peoples, on the basis of a socialized economy which, while guaranteeing an essential common level of economic and social security, permits the preservation and even resurgence of minority cultures. Of special interest to the Maori situation would have been some consideration of the *artel* type of collective farm which aims at preserving the most valuable of the communal and co-operative habits of the old village commune, while providing new economic and social opportunities for representatives of majority and minority peoples alike.

IAN MILNER

The Story of John Fairfax. By J. F. Fairfax. Pp. 169. John Fairfax & Sons, Sydney, 1941. 10/6.

The Great Wheel. By C. Brunsdon Fletcher. Pp. 211. Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1941. 7/6.

The first of these books commemorates the centenary of the Fairfax proprietorship of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the great daily of which John Fairfax assumed control in 1841, ten years after its birth. So far as is known, there is no other instance in the records of journalism of so long a period of direct personal control by the members of one family. The story of John, who built the newspaper on such solid foundations, is an inspiring record of positive achievement by a strong, honest, capable man, who believed that the pen is mightier than the sword. His Pyrrhic victory over lawyer Empson, his honest bankruptcy and his sturdy resolve to begin again in a new world overseas, serve as a prelude to a description of a trip in an immigrant ship and life in Sydney Town a century ago for which all students of Australian history should be grateful. The career of the *Herald* under the firm guidance of its new proprietor, and the beautiful relationships subsisting between him and the members of his family, have their own appeal. The format of the book is worthy of its subject and of the house that published it. The illustrations by Adrian Feint are an added perfection.

For thirty-five years, the *Sydney Morning Herald* was the literary home of Mr. C. Brunsdon Fletcher. For twenty years he was its editor-in-chief. In *The Great Wheel*, a title suggested by R. L. Stevenson's line, 'spin the great wheel of earth about,' Mr. Fletcher, as Sir Mungo MacCallum writes in his foreword, gives us 'glimpses not only of times just gone by but of many distinguished men who played a large part in them. And all this is presented, sometimes with a good deal of humour, but invariably in a kindly, genial spirit.'

The following of Mr. Fletcher along the branches of his family tree is a little fatiguing, but his account of his own training for journalism, as a surveyor and local councillor in Brisbane, is good reading. His personal experiences of Sydney's cesspits and of Brisbane's record of flood remind us of the value of his recollections to the student of Australian history. In this connection his associations with Sir Samuel Griffith are particularly valuable, as are also his references to the strange-

hold of the Eastern Extension Cable Company and the measures taken to loosen its grip. 'It still costs us four or five times as much to land European news here as to send it to the United States. Added to this the charges for distributing the news in Australia are enormously in excess of those borne by the United States. The overcharges seem scandalous.'

The sentence on p. 166 referring to Andrew Fisher needs recasting. Between the date of his presence at the Imperial Conference in 1911 and his historic promise of aid to the mother country in 1914, Fisher had ceased to be prime minister. Sir Joseph Cook was prime minister when Mr. Fisher, as head of the opposition, gave his undertaking. The double dissolution that followed shortly afterwards put Mr. Fisher in office for the second time.

It is a matter of regret that neither of these books, which have so much to commend them, has an index.

C. H. CURREY

Sailors' Ghosts. By Malcolm Uren. Pp. 253, plates. Melbourne, Robertson & Mullens. 3rd edition, 1941. 10/6 net.

Mr. Uren's book must have created something of a record for semi-historical works in Australia by going into three impressions (not, I think, 'editions') in two months; and perhaps the journalism and the history are mixed in the right proportions for a popular success. On the historical side the book is the story of the Abrolhos—'islands and reef'—off the coast of Western Australia. It is also the story of Mr. Uren's own trip, with three agreeable companions, to Pelsart Island in the course of his historical field-work. This latter story is recounted, it must be said, in a style of facetious familiarity that becomes rather trying; for small beer as small as this is only tolerable when poured by the hand of a master. But the author knows his wrecks, Dutch and English, and when he gets down in the second half of the book to the detailed history of the *Batavia*, that grim and bloody business, he does a pretty good job. There is a great deal of conjectural conversation and imagined circumstantial detail, but where facts are known or discoverable, Mr. Uren seems to have checked them rigidly, and he makes good use of the documents. To the student already familiar with the story the most significant pages of the book are those of Chapter XXIV, in which Mr. Uren argues cautiously but it seems with good reason for Gun Island, and not Pelsart Island, as the scene of the wreck. Two small points: if there is another reprint Mr. Uren might clear up his dates (e.g., on p. 236, 1628); and on p. 237 he has slipped on his proof-reading—for 'longitude' read 'latitude,' and *vice versa*. It was longitude that was the 'undisclosed maritime secret'; for errors in latitude we can blame inadequate instruments, the human factor, and attendant circumstances.

J. C. BEAGLEHOLE

Solving Labour Problems in Australia. By Orwell de R. Foenander. Pp. xxxv, 168. Melbourne University Press, 1941. 15/- net.

The sub-title of Mr. Foenander's latest book, 'an additional series of essays in the history of industrial relations in Australia,' sufficiently indicates its close connection with his previous work, *Towards Industrial Peace in Australia*. Being mainly concerned with developments of the Commonwealth Arbitration Court since 1936, it brings up to date the historical account given in the previous volume and discusses the Basic Wage enquiry of 1937 and the introduction of the 44 hour week in certain industries in the period from 1937 to 1940. Chapters are also devoted to special industries and the recent changes which have occurred in connection with them, the sheep and cattle pastoral industries and the coal mining

industry being selected for discussion, and also the special problem of the prevention of sweating. The book thus suffers, necessarily, from discontinuity in its subject-matter, a discontinuity not improved by the inclusion of numerous appendices and notes. No fewer than 35 pages are occupied with preface, introduction and preparatory notes and lists of cases cited, whilst two appendices and an addendum on events in 1940 occupy a further 35 pages at the end of the book, not to mention appendices to individual chapters. Whilst appendices to a large volume are often the unavoidable product of exhaustive research, in a small volume appendices to the extent of one-third of the whole indicate a lack of care in the arrangement of material and a failure to assimilate it.

Mr. Foenander writes from the standpoint of a lawyer whose interest lies in the interpretation and modification of industrial law and thus he does not consider the problem of industrial strife from a sociological angle. When the coal miners do not accept the award of the Court and strike Mr. Foenander thinks that they are reprehensibly throwing away the advantages of the law, but he does not stop to consider the reason for their attitude.

Whilst the author has crammed his pages with facts and collected together much up-to-date information his legal training vitiates his analysis for he is always anxious to make a case and finds the facts to support it later. This leads him into contradictions. Chapter I states (p. 3) that 'the history of industrial relations in the hands of the Court can be said to establish two propositions (a) that industrial peace and industrial justice in the modern complex environment are each attainable and that in practice they can be a reconcilable combination; and (b) . . .' This opening gambit leads the reader to wonder whether he remembers rightly Mr. Foenander's summing-up in the concluding chapter of his previous volume, where he states (p. 248) that the Court has 'on occasions, bowed to threats; apparently it has found it necessary, under pressure of conditions, to sacrifice principle. There is some justification for the taunt that the Court has assessed the bargaining strength of the parties, and that it leans to the side of the more obdurate. The Court is conscious of the difficulties that await the enforcement of awards that are displeasing to the worker; so that for any temporizing it is not wholly to blame. It is largely a victim of circumstance.'

This volume will be valued chiefly for the collection of raw material which it contains and as a source book for enquirers who, at some future date, wish to ascertain whether the Court did in fact combine peace with justice to solve the labour problems of Australia. Meanwhile, to those who can ignore the trees in order to see the wood the problem still presents itself. Is the Court only concerned with the settlement of disputes once they have arisen or does it contribute anything to a fundamental solution of the problem by removing the causes of dispute? The reader who searches for an answer to this question will go unrewarded.

A. E. C. HARE

Guide to the Casts of Greek and Roman Sculpture. Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney, 1941. Pp. 108. 2/- net.

As a result of the introduction in 1941 of a qualifying course in the Faculty of Arts in ancient and mediaeval art, Professor Trendall (Professor of Greek and acting Curator of the Nicholson Museum in the University of Sydney) has, with the assistance of Mr. G. R. Manton and Miss L. Woodhouse, produced an admirable guide to the collection of Greek and Roman reliefs and sculptures in the Nicholson Museum. The guide 'is designed primarily to serve the interests of students in the new course, and to help the casual visitor to a better understanding of what he sees.' It should, however, be of great use to less casual visitors who are not

specifically students of ancient art but students of ancient history in general, helping them to visualize much more vividly than before many political events and social conditions in the Greek and Graeco-Roman world to the third century of our era.

For example, the destruction wrought by the Persians in Athens is illustrated by the Korai (nos. 11-16), and by the sculptured reliefs showing wrestlers, a ball game, etc., and found in 1922 built into the wall of Themistocles (nos. 42, 43). Again, the cult of the ancestor (no. 35), the Panathenaic festival (nos. 69-74), the vitality of myth as a subject of Greek sculpture (nos. 52-4, 130, 209) and the importance of the victors in the great games (nos. 80, 138, 139, 150) are of interest to various types of students. Further, the current impression that artistically Athens was Greece is corrected by the provenance of the majority of the originals; and the stress laid on the use of gems, inlay work and colour in Greek statues, together with the reference to the gold and ivory statue of Athena, disproves the widespread belief that stark simplicity was the mark—and merit—of all Greek sculpture.

The casts include many of very well-known statues such as the Discobulus, the Hermes of Praxiteles, Laocoön, the Venus of Milo, the dying Gaul; of the many less well-known but interesting and often excellent ones, arbitrary mention may be made of no. 38, a potter, and no. 244, a statuette of Socrates, of the comparatively recent finds from Sparta and the very important sculptures from Agina.

A great deal of learning and no less enthusiasm have gone to the making of what is no 'mere' guide. Throughout there are references given to accessible works where the student can study much of what has been written on any statue or relief. He is also warned that plaster casts, though often better than even very good photographs, may fall short of even copies of copies. For instance, it is noted of no. 107B—a cast of the foot of the Hermes of Praxiteles—that 'Plaster can in no way do justice to the surface of the original, the texture of which is quite different for the leather of the thong of the sandal and the flesh of the foot.' But, as Professor Trendall says at the beginning, as it is very unlikely that the museum will ever possess a large collection of originals, we have to rest content with a collection of casts. There is an index to the guide.

JESSIE S. W. WEBB

SHORTER NOTICES

St. John's Church and Canberra. By L. F. Fitzhardinge. Pp. 66. St. John's Parish Council, Canberra, 1941. 1/6.

It is well that this latest contribution to the literature of the Federal capital should throw light upon a factor in colonial growth that is often obscured in the story of Australia's early struggles. There are many regions where a church has been the core and centre of communal life and progress long before any semblance of even a village arose, and many of them remain 'districts' to this day.

The relation of St. John's and Canberra is intimate, as Mr. Fitzhardinge's pages show. The author describes briefly how settlement reached the Limestone Plains, and how the persistence of Robert Campbell secured a clergyman for the district in 1838. Three years later, on 11 May 1841, Bishop Broughton laid the foundation of the Canberra church, the centenary of which occasioned this fitting literary memorial. The church was consecrated on 12 March 1845, and from this point onwards we read of the intermingled growth of social and religious life, the close connection of religion and education, and the development of the village community at 'Canberry.'

It is a little misleading, however, that Broughton should be introduced as a bishop; he had arrived in the colony as archdeacon, and for seven years he had

been hindered, like his predecessor, Scott, through lack of episcopal status. That the church in Australia was left for forty-eight years without a bishop is one of the tragedies of our story. Scott's name might also have been mentioned in connection with the educational system of 1825, of which the author speaks with approval. A.B.

Church Beginnings in the West. By A. Burton. Pp. 128, illus. John Muhling, Perth, 1941.

In a former issue of this journal (vol. i, p. 85), Canon Burton described his various searches for diaries and letters concerning the early history of Western Australia. His discoveries have enabled him to write this brief history of the Anglican Church in the West from 1829 to the end of the first episcopate in 1875, by which time 'the clergy list contained seventeen names, the churches were twenty-eight in number, and there were fourteen rectories and a Bishop's House.' It is, however, no bare list of dates and figures, but a restrained, direct account of the part played by a comparatively small group of clergymen in the development of the colony during the life-time of many of the first settlers.

If Canon Burton has a fault, it is that of undue modesty; the number of diaries that he has brought to light is a splendid testimony to the effectiveness of patiently tracing the present-day descendants of the personalities of a century ago. It may well inspire others to adopt his persistent and fruitful methods. G.F.J.

The Modern Map. By Professor W. K. Hancock. Pp. 59. Oxford University Press, 1941. 1/- net.

'This war is not merely a European war with some skirmishes into the outer world; it is a war which implicates all the continents and oceans.' With a sure grasp of the principles of Mahan and Haushofer, Professor Hancock estimates the chances of survival in this conflict. Speaking six months before the attack on Pearl Harbour, he believed that even if Russia collapsed and Japan joined the Axis the odds would still be in favour of the democracies provided that they used time intelligently.

This war, however, 'is not only a struggle of material forces, but a struggle of words, and the ideas which live in words.' What have we to offer in place of that elastic 'new order' with which Hitler hopes to win Europe? Professor Hancock is loth to define peace aims, but he sketches in outline something of the 'new liberty.' With President Roosevelt's four freedoms as a basis (freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear), he proposes an international economic 'new deal' in which independence will be reconciled with interdependence, and the 'wealth of nations' will become 'the welfare of nations.' Freedom from fear can be achieved by 'calling in the New World to redress the balance of the Old.' A broader-based League (including U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.) with power, and will to exercise that power, should be able to provide security in a world convinced of the value of 'good neighbourhood' and racial tolerance. The basic principles and the organization of the British Commonwealth of Nations could furnish a pattern.

This series of nine broadcasts to Australasia delivered between 8 May and 3 July 1941 is a model of concise lucid statement. Avowedly propaganda, it is intelligent, invigorating, and should be placed in the hands of all Departments of Information.

N.D.H.

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